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INDIA'S HEALTH PROBLEMS

THE PROBLEM OF JAPAN

THE FUTURE OF SIAM

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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER 1945

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

By GENERAL SIR MOSLEY MAYNE KCB, CBE DSO ADC

WHEN I came home to England at the close of last year I was told by interested persons that there was crass ignorance amongst the British public about India's war effort, and the part which Indian troops had played and were still playing in theatres of war all over the world.

As regards India's war effort as a whole I feel that from the general public India has not yet been given half the credit she deserves but as regards the contribution made by her fighting forces and their prowess in battle I feel that the British public is now beginning to learn the truth, and to bear high praise from thousands of the best type of impartial witness—the British soldier sailor and airman returning to these shores, who have fought side by side with the Indian Services in Europe and in the Middle and Far East.

Even before the outbreak of war with Germany India had already made a substantial contribution of troops to safeguard our Imperial communications against the threat which loomed ahead. In the summer of 1939 an Indian Infantry Brigade was sent to reinforce the peace-time garrison of Singapore, and the 4th Indian Division went to Egypt.

When war with Germany broke out and Italy and Japan remained neutral India had no further overseas commitments, immediate or impending to meet. She nevertheless mobilized her Army set about the task of raising a number of new divisions and prepared for the defence of her Western Frontier against the indefinite but yet conceivable, contingency of attack from that quarter by a first-class Power. That threat increased then receded and then grew again as the German Armies swept eastwards across Russia and southwards to the Caucasus near the borders of Persia, and the danger remained a real one until the late summer of 1942 when the Russians after their historic stand at Stalingrad swept the German Armies back from the Caspian to the Black Sea.

During that early period 1940 and 1941 India despite her domestic commitments was pouring out her resources of men and material. As soon as Italy ranged herself against us the 5th Indian Division and a number of garrison and administrative units went to the Middle East. The 4th Indian Division having already spent a year in the Middle East, took the leading part in the first important battle in the Western Desert—the battle of Sidi Barrani. The 5th Indian Division starting from the Sudan initiated the British offensive against Italian East Africa in the early autumn of 1940 and, joined later by its sister division the 4th won a series of battles which in conjunction with the offensive from Kenya, brought about the total capitulation of the Italian forces in East Africa. Meanwhile the 8th, 10th and 6th Indian Divisions fought the campaigns in Iraq Syria and Persia and further Indian reinforcements including armoured formations and units, were sent to the Middle East.

I am still speaking of 1940 and 1941 and of the forces which India sent to the Middle East. But her contribution amounted to very much more than that. She

tore up her railway tracks and sent them together with locomotives and wagons to Persia, Iraq and Egypt. She developed her industries and her war-time arsenals with the utmost speed and to the maximum capacity all for the purpose of supplying British forces at war outside India. This was quite right and proper. The war in the Far East had not started and what mattered most at that time was the war in Europe and the Middle East. So India denuded herself of material and resources which she was going to want very badly during the succeeding years to keep the enemy at bay beyond her own frontiers.

AFTER THE JAPANESE ATTACK

Then while India was still looking and planning westwards with her administrative layout for war purposes sited in the West of India Japan attacked from the East and India was compelled to turn about and face in that direction too. Although her immediate task was now the defence of Malaya, of Burma, and very soon of her own Eastern Frontier India still maintained at full strength her military contribution to the Middle East. She never relaxed for a moment. During that summer of 1942 three Indian divisions and a brigade of the Indian Armoured Corps were fighting in the Western Desert. Indian troops were garrisoning Cyprus and other places in the Levant. Three Indian divisions including one of armour, were deployed in Persia to help meet the very real threat of a German advance through the Caucasus and Central Persia against the oilfields in Iraq and Khuzestan and even against the Western Frontier of India itself.

Taking into account the fact that those divisions in the Middle East and in what came to be known as *Paiforce* were the cream of the Army in India that individual units and administrative services in very considerable quantity were in the Middle East too, and that India had lost and had to write off a very large number of units in Malaya it was a wonderful performance for her to hold the hitherto victorious Japanese on the Indo Burma Frontier and at the same time raise equip and train the numerous fresh formations which are winning the war in the Far East to-day. I feel there are few people at home who realize the extent and complexity of India's war effort, and her sacrifices at that critical period.

The Japanese invasion was held on the borders of India throughout the years 1942 and 1943. In the late spring of 1944 we took the offensive in real earnest and now we have retaken Rangoon and most of Burma. Why was our counter-offensive not started sooner? Why did we let the Japanese threaten Indian soil and even take the initiative in a series of attempted invasions, for a period of eighteen months or more before we finally turned the tables on her and put her on the run? I have heard people ask that question and criticize India for lack of effort and initiative.

LONG PREPARATION FOR BURMA

Let me give you in a few words an outline of the military preparations which India had to make in order to transform herself into the main base and North Eastern India into the main lines of communication for the vast forces, land and air which have driven the Japanese, with enormous losses, out of most of Burma and which are going to drive them very much further still. Remember that she has continued to maintain at full strength a number of divisions which have taken a leading part in our victories at Alamein, in Tunisia and in Italy and has continued to provide other formations, too for expeditions such as the occupation of the Aegean Islands and Greece and for garrison duties throughout the Middle East.

The reasons why we were unable to undertake a full counter offensive against the Japanese in 1942 or 1943 were essentially administrative. As I have already said India had organized her administrative layout to meet her obligations in the West, and had denuded herself of material and resources which were now badly needed to organize a base and lines of communication for a war in the East. The main physical difficulties which she had to face were

The lack of through routes from India to Burma capable of maintaining large forces the limited capacity of the Bengal Assam Railway which is narrow gauge and

smaller than the trunk routes which feed it, the obstacle of the Bramaputra River which has no bridges and monsoon wash-outs and land slides.

Confronted with those difficulties and with much reduced stocks of equipment to meet them, the immediate problem in 1942 was the reception of a million refugees from Burma, the withdrawal of battle-worn troops for rest, reorganization and re-equipment, and the establishment of a battle front to stop a further Japanese advance into Assam and India. The successful accomplishment of those tasks was a triumph of improvisation, since little assistance was forthcoming from the U.K. or U.S.A., where the needs of other theatres of war were given higher priority.

Meanwhile a long-term programme was put in hand and developed as resources became available. The capacity of the Bengal Assam Railway was quadrupled by additional construction, by the improvement of ferry and transshipment points and by the provision of American operating personnel, numbers of advance bases were developed and depôts stocked for the maintenance of forces larger than the whole of the B.E.F. in France in 1940, new roads were constructed over some of the most difficult country imaginable—scores of all weather airfields were built and oil pipelines were laid from Calcutta and Chittagong to Assam and beyond.

Concurrently with the development of the forward lines of communication the expansion of the Indian base to deal with some 2½ million troops had been in progress—sailors, soldiers and airmen. British, Indian, American, African and Chinese. This vast project involved the construction of complete bases with covered accommodation for every type of equipment, stores and supplies, the building of airfields, hospitals, camps, barracks and training areas and in addition the expansion of the capacity of railways and ports. I will give you a few figures to show what had been achieved up to the end of 1944: Accommodation built for 1,320,000 men; 70 training establishments built to hold 470,000 men; 130 hospitals providing 94,000 beds; 42 million square feet of covered storage; 360 airfields.

THE INDUSTRIAL EFFORT

Now a few words about India's industrial war effort. It has involved the creation of new industries, the expansion of existing ones and the conversion of others to war purposes. The Tata Steel Works, the largest in the British Empire, have greatly increased their pre-war production of 2 million tons of pig iron and a million tons of steel and in addition have perfected many new types of steel including armour plate. Every engineering workshop in the country is making munitions in some form or other while the great new ordnance factories and the railway workshops are turning out guns, shells, mines, grenades in very large quantities. India also makes sufficient H.E. for her own use.

India has a virtual monopoly of jute and has produced sandbags by the hundred million for use on every fighting front in addition to gunny bags, hessian and other jute products. She supplied 90 per cent of the stores used in N. Africa before American supplies began to arrive including locomotives and rolling stock, pipelines etc. She has been the main source of supply for the overland route to Russia via Persia. Here again she provided a large part of the skilled personnel as well as rolling stock, engines and transport.

India has been the principal supplier of tropical uniforms made from cloth woven in her 300 cotton mills. Her clothing factories turn out 7 million items a month and use 215 million yards of cloth a year. She has produced 50 million pairs of footwear for the forces and the great majority of the tents used by the Allied Armies are made in India. She has also supplied 1½ million tons of timber and 60 million feet of plywood a year.

Cottage industries in remote villages have made millions of yards of camouflage netting and millions of hand woven blankets. Her survey department has produced 300 million maps for the Army and the parachutes used in the Burma theatre were all of Indian supply and manufacture.

THE TOTAL EFFECT

This has been a very sketchy review and owing to lack of time I have had to leave unsaid a great deal that could and should be said. Let me finish with a brief

summary Since the start of the war India's Army has increased over elevenfold her Navy to fifteen times and her Air Force to ten times their pre-war strength—all by voluntary enlistment. Her divisions have played a leading part in all the theatres of war from Persia in the north, to Italy in the west, to Abyssinia in the south, and to Burma in the East. Her Navy has taken part in operations in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf Atlantic Mediterranean and Far East. Her Air Forces have taken over full responsibility for air commitments on the North West Frontier and are playing an important part in the S.E.A.C. operations.

Meanwhile, India has transformed herself into a colossal military base for the South East Asia Command. She has done so largely by indigenous effort and improvisation since until now she has stood so low in the order of priority for assistance from home and elsewhere. And, last but not least, she has achieved remarkable results in the expansion of her industries and their conversion to war production. For over five years she has given everything she has had to give.

And finally unlike some Allied nations India is not able to relax, even a little now that the war in Europe is over. She is still in top gear and at top speed at the end of the sixth year of her war effort.

POST WAR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES IN THE STATES OF SOUTHERN INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM BARTON, K C I E, C S I

THE Indian States cover over a third of India with a population of over 100 millions. There are some hundreds of them but only twenty or so are of any importance. Of the latter the majority are succession States of the Mughal empire, last of the great Muslim dynasties that ruled India for seven centuries. The majority of the States are Hindu Rajput: the origin of many of them is veiled in the mists of antiquity. The relations of most of the States with the British Crown are governed by treaty or agreement: all acknowledge British suzerainty.

In most of the States the administration is based on the age-old traditions of personal rule: in the last fifty or sixty years however it has been modelled in the most important States on the system in force in British India. Of recent years much has been done to associate the people with the working of government. In States like Mysore Baroda, and Travancore government is very much on the lines of constitutional monarchy. In race, religion language and social customs there is little to differentiate the people of the States from the inhabitants of the adjoining British Indian Provinces.

THE PREMIER STATE

The Muslim State of Hyderabad is the most important of the Indian States. 82,000 square miles in area it has a population of over 17 million, of whom the great majority are Hindu. Established over two centuries ago it carries on the traditions of the Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan or South India which had flourished for nearly four centuries previously in almost complete isolation from the Muslim empires of the North based on Delhi. Its Ruler is known as his Exalted Highness the Nizam Faithful Ally of the British Empire.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the collapse of the Mughal empire led to widespread anarchy in India. The Marathas—a sturdy Hindu people of the South under skilful leadership—were striving to obliterate Muslim rule. They threatened the great Muslim Kingdom of Hyderabad with extinction. The Nizam turned for help to the British, who by this time were in power in Bengal. A military alliance was concluded between the two powers with the result that the Maratha confederacy was finally overthrown. Relations between the British and the Nizam

developed into a British military protectorate, as a corollary of which the Nizam recognized the paramountcy of the British Crown. By treaty the British are pledged to maintain a force of 10,000 men in Hyderabad.

The State is administered on modern lines conforming to a large extent to the system prevailing in British India. A well-trained Civil Service is building up traditions of efficiency and integrity. The executive is separated from the judiciary at the head of the Law Courts is the High Court the Chief Justice is usually a well trained lawyer from British India. The aristocracy Hindu and Muslim is highly educated the middle class is growing in importance. There is a flourishing university primary education is free, the Hyderabad Government have recently adopted the policy of providing a school in every village of 1,000 inhabitants.

Finance is on a sound basis. Taxation is comparatively light. There is no income tax, customs excise the land tax and railways are the main sources of revenue. Budgets have for many years shown substantial surpluses, much of which has been applied to nation-building projects.

Hyderabad has its own currency system coins its own rupees issues paper currency. A State Bank has been established recently which handles the currency system. Treasury bills are issued and generally the scheme of public finance follows modern lines.

The State owns 1,360 miles of railway which provide a substantial contribution to the revenue. There is a strong British element in the railway staff. Much has been done for the comfort of the poorer class of passengers. A scheme of road rail co-ordination has been evolved. A lorry and bus service owned and operated by the State carries goods and passengers over 4,000 miles of road.

The economic life of the State is centred in the countryside. Before the war there had been little industrial development. Cement was manufactured on an appreciable scale some textile factories were working also some minor industries. There are extensive coalfields but the coal is not of sufficiently good quality for coking. The mines were till recently worked by a British company. The Nizam's Government has now bought it out with a view to stimulating output. There is a plentiful supply of iron ore in the vicinity of the coalfields. Gold has been mined in the past and with cheap electric power it might be worth while to reopen some of the old workings. Marble limestone fireclay are among other minerals found in the State.

The capital of Hyderabad has a population of half a million. Much has been done to make it a model city. There are many fine public buildings. Slum clearance has been carried out on a large scale and several thousand houses of modern design have been built for the benefit of the poorer classes. There are many miles of cement roads a good drainage system and water supply and modern lighting. A stock exchange has been recently instituted.

On the outbreak of the war the Hyderabad Government placed its resources at the service of the King Emperor. The strength of the army was increased from 7,000 to 12,000 men eight units are now serving outside the State all charges are borne by the Hyderabad Government. Over £40 million has been invested in Indian Government loans. Two squadrons of the R.A.F. have been provided, also a corvette for the Royal Navy. Industry has been placed on a war basis to encourage private enterprise an Industrial Development Corporation has been set up partly financed by Government for the large scale manufacture of heavy chemicals, sheet glass and glassware starch casein and other plastics. A number of industrial works have already been started under this scheme—e.g. the Allwyn Metal Works the Hyderabad Starch Products the Hyderabad Chemicals and Fertilizers. Railway workshops and the Mint are producing components of gun-carriages pressed sheetings castings, weldings etc. A machine-tools factory has been started and many other articles of military necessity are being produced. There has been a great increase in the growth of food crops the Hyderabad Government has loyally supported the Indian Government in the fight against inflation. Small investors have been encouraged the State has raised loans of £70 million at 2½ per cent. As a substitute for income tax a Compulsory Savings Ordinance makes compulsory the investment in Government loan of income above £350 per annum on a scale varying from 4 per cent to 12½ per cent.

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The State Budget has increased from £8 million pre-war to nearly £13 million, with no fresh taxation except the excess profits tax. The State aerodrome built as part of a programme of linking a civil aviation service with the State railway has been utilized as a training centre for Indian Air Force pilots. Several thousand mechanics and motor drivers have been trained and passed on to the Indian Army. Beyond question Hyderabad in its war effort has proved its loyalty to the British Commonwealth.

PRODUCTION PLANS

I pass on now to the State programme of post-war development. The war effort, one may comment, has done much to prepare the ground. The dominant motive is to raise the standard of living of the common man to find employment for all. Many new factories have been started as a result of the stimulus of the war, helped in some cases from the Industrial Fund. The Sirpur Mills to give an example are producing 5 000 tons of paper a year, a valuable contribution to an understocked market. Big new cigarette soap and oil factories are working.

The policy adopted puts the improvement of agriculture in the foreground. The responsible authorities realize that the expansion of industry depends on the prosperity of the countryside. What is necessary in the villages is a great increase in the output of the crops, more money crops—e.g. castor, sugar cane, groundnut—should be grown, an improvement in the quality of the village livestock is essential. The value of applied science to agriculture is recognized, and to assure that it is available an agricultural college has been established as well as a school of animal husbandry. An adequate supply of fertilizers is to be produced.

To produce chemical fertilizers requires electric power in great quantities. Power too, is wanted for industry generally and in the villages. The natural features of the country offer excellent opportunities for its production by means of water storage. It is the policy of the Hyderabad Government to utilize the opportunities as a basis of agricultural and industrial development. A beginning is to be made in setting up a hydro-electric plant in the Nizam Sagar, an immense reservoir built at a cost of £2½ million to irrigate 250 000 acres of land. Other schemes combine irrigation with the production of power: for example the Tungabadhra project which will irrigate some 800,000 acres, at the same time producing some 100 000 k.w. of electric power; the Godavari scheme will bring water to nearly a million acres and produce over 50,000 k.w. The addition of nearly two million acres to the irrigated area will mean a great increase in the agricultural wealth of the country.

As regards industry it is recognized that the first essential is technical training. To promote this a technical department has been added to the Osmania University; an industrial laboratory has been provided. Hyderabad looks to Britain to provide facilities for the training of its students abroad. To ensure the co-operation of the people generally in economic endeavour a higher standard of intelligence is required. Accordingly the Hyderabad Government have included an elaborate scheme of educational progress in their post-war planning. An economic service of officers is to be instituted. Its members will be drawn from the ranks of economists, scientists and engineers. Another important element in their plans is a great extension of medical facilities with a view to improving the physique of the masses.

The general policy of industrial development aims at utilizing local raw material for the production of consumption goods for the people of the State. Cheap power will be provided at convenient centres. An elaborate scheme has been evolved for the setting up of an industrial city on the Godavari River near the coalfields, iron-ore and other mineral deposits. A huge reservoir will be formed a few miles above stream by throwing a dam across the river. The scheme will as already noted provide 50,000 k.w. of electric power as well as bring nearly a million acres under irrigation. A thermal power station to produce 50 000 k.w. based on the coalfields will be set up in the first instance. The industries it is proposed to develop are steel, coal carbonization and other by-products of coal, cement, textiles, vegetable oils, rayon, calcium carbide, fertilizers, plastics. Later on it is intended to produce textiles and other machinery and machine tools and electrical appliances generally. The Godavari system of electrical power production will supply the northern area of the

State, the Tangabhadra scheme the South. The two systems will ultimately be combined in a grid covering the whole State. This should make possible the electrification of every village. Power can be used in the countryside for a variety of purposes for pumping water from tanks and wells, for village industries, especially weaving and for agricultural produce—e.g. crushing oil seeds and sugar cane. Doubtless efforts will be made to link the industries of the towns with the villages—a system that has been so successful in Japan.

Hyderabad is landlocked. The new Manchester will need an outlet to the sea. Suggestions have been made that a direct railway route to the port of Vizagapatam should be constructed traversing the State of Bastar which incidentally it would help to develop. To start the new city on its career some £18 million will be required. For the State as a whole development planning including schemes for promoting educational public health road and railway construction slum clearance the forecast is for some £180 million.

To finance the programme special reserves will be available, budget surpluses will contribute to capital outlay though much of the surplus will be required for the increase in running expenditure there will be no difficulty in raising loans. It is expected that much private capital will be invested.

MYSORE'S PROGRESS

Next in importance to Hyderabad among Indian States is Mysore. From the middle of the eighteenth century the State was in the grip of the Muslim military adventurer Hydar and later of his son Tipu Sultan. It was rescued from Muslim thralldom by the British towards the end of the century and handed back to the Hindu dynasty which had ruled it for generations. Misgovernment led to a popular rising with the result that in 1831 the country was taken over by the British and administered for the next fifty years by a picked British Civil Service. It was restored to Hindu rule in 1881. The Mysore Civil Service has kept before it the ideal of the standard set up by their British predecessors.

Mysore is generally regarded as the model State of India and there is much to be said in support of this view. 30,000 square miles in area it has a population of over 7 millions. Situated on the Southern Indian plateau it has a temperate climate throughout most of the year. The country has the benefit of the south western and north eastern monsoons. Even with this irrigation is necessary over a considerable area—a necessity met to some extent from tanks and wells. The undulating and broken nature of the terrain makes irrigation from canals difficult; pumping by means of electric power avoids the difficulty in many cases. As in Hyderabad the possibilities of developing much power on a large scale by hydro-electric installations are widespread. Much has been done already to utilize these natural advantages and the big power plants at Sivasamudaram on the Cauvery and on the Shimsha develop some 60,000 kw. The important gold mining industry at Kolar depends entirely on current produced from the Cauvery. It may be noted that in the last fifty years or so 102 million pounds worth of gold have been produced from these mines. In 1943 the output realized four million pounds sterling of which over a million went to the State in duty and royalty. One may remark in passing that the Mysore Government are considering the advisability of capitalizing at least part of this mining revenue. The mines are worked by British companies and employ 25,000 people.

Other uses to which electric current is put are the supply of power to textile mills, silk and cotton and other factories and to the steel works at Bhadravati. 221 towns and villages have been electrified. Power is used in village industries and for pumping water from wells and tanks. Coffee growing is an important industry; tea and tobacco are also produced. Sericulture is widely practised and provides a livelihood for 150,000 families. Apart from gold, manganese and iron-ore are the principal minerals; asbestos and kaolin are also found. There is no coal.

Politically Mysore has made great progress. More than half a century ago a popular body known as the Representative Assembly was established on a broad franchise which reflected the opinion of the countryside. By its means the Government was kept in touch with the people and it is commonly said that Government

rarely went against the considered views of the Assembly. The Legislative Assembly based on popular suffrage to-day passes legislation and the Budget; two of its members serve on the Executive Council which runs the administration. As in Hyderabad the administration is organized on the lines of British India, the High Court usually has a retired British High Court Judge as Chief Justice. The State has its own University. Bangalore, the administrative capital, is an attractive city and a popular residential area, both for Indians and British. Mysore is a garden city with very fine public buildings.

Financially the State is prosperous. The revenue has expanded enormously during the war years. It now stands at £6 million. There was a surplus of over a million in 1943-44. The assets of the State, including investments in railways (£7 million) in industry and in electric enterprise—electricity is a State subject—exceed £15 million.

Mysore pays a military subsidy of £200,000 and for that reason limits its military budget. An infantry battalion has been sent overseas. A squadron has been given to the R.A.F., industry has been rapidly expanded. Some £7 million worth of military stores and equipment, especially silk for parachutes, has been produced. 1,750 technicians have been trained at the various engineering colleges and work shops and in the iron and steel works at Bhadravati. Most of these technicians have been absorbed in the Indian Army, Navy or Air Force. The entire output of the iron and steel works has been placed at the disposal of the Indian Supply Department, 24,000 tons of steel being produced annually. The works have been expanded by the installation of an additional open hearth furnace and a rod and strip mill. An electric furnace for the manufacture of steel has also been added. Electric transformers, levelling instruments, plastics, steel helmets are among the many articles supplied for war purposes. Help has been given in the manufacture of explosives. Some pioneer work has been done in aircraft production. Britain has every reason to be grateful for the help and the moral support she has received from Mysore in the war effort.

A CORRECT BALANCE NEEDED

Even before the war there had been considerable industrial progress in Mysore and the post-war development plans are in point of fact a continuation of a process that has been going on for a quarter of a century or more. The estimated cost of the new schemes is put at £150 million, to be spread over ten years. The main elements in the plan are the improvement of agriculture, a great expansion of industry, the development of roads and of electric power. On the social side educational facilities are to be extended, a broad policy of medical relief and public health is to be carried out. 10,000 houses are to be built in Bangalore for the upper and lower middle classes. £3 million is to be spent on roads, a programme of railway electrification is being considered. There is a proposal to build an industrial suburb to Bangalore. Another great electrical project in the extreme N.W. of the State known as the Jog Falls scheme, is under construction. It will ultimately produce 125,000 kw. More power is urgently required especially in the iron and steel works and priority is being allowed by the Government of India for the import of the necessary plant. It may be expected that a great industrial centre will be developed round this source of immense power. Much of it is expected to be used for electro-chemical and metallurgical processes, also for the production of inorganic fertilizers. A good deal of material for export should be produced at this centre and at the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works, and easy access to the sea would be an advantage. It is the ambition of the Mysore Government to be allowed to develop the harbour of Bhatkal belonging to Bombay, which lies on the west coast at a short distance from the Jog Falls. There seems no reason why this privilege should not be accorded. The development of an up-to-date port at Bhatkal should be of benefit to Bombay especially if they take a large block of power from Jog to be utilized in industry.

The Mysore planners hope in a few years after the war as a result of the economic drive to raise the average income from Rs. 65 per head (£5 roughly) to Rs. 84, an increase of some 30 shillings which would raise the purchasing power of the country by nearly £10 million. Judged by Western standards even the increased income

seems deplorably low. It must, however, be remarked that in the warm climate of Mysore only light clothing is needed. Artificial heating for warmth is unnecessary, a light diet is adequate. If the planners achieve their main object of doubling the average income in ten years the ordinary individual should be comfortably off.

In Mysore, as in India generally, the main problem is to establish a correct balance between town and countryside. Seventy per cent. of the people live on the land. It will be many years before industry can appreciably affect the labour market. The problem of the land presents fewer difficulties in Mysore than in most parts of India. Holdings are larger, in many villages all the available land is not under cultivation. Better methods of cultivation, fertilizers and irrigation are necessary. Several millions of pounds are to be spent on irrigation from wells, tanks and canals. Five model farms are to be set up each year in the five-year period.

The fertile but unhealthy tract of country known as the Malnad in the west is to be developed. Success will depend largely on improving health conditions. An intensive campaign of development in this part of the State territory would add greatly to the wealth of the community.

There are to-day 605 large industrial establishments in the State employing 77,000 persons. Many of these have been brought into being by the demands of war. For further development there are schemes for starting a big rayon industry, for the production of vegetable dyestuffs, calcium carbide, the manufacture of radio sets, bicycles, tractors, plastics, crockery on a cottage industry scale. A 5 h.p. motor is already in production. Other types of electrical accessories generally will be produced. The plan provides specially for the development of cottage industries which will be co-ordinated where possible with the big industrial establishments of the towns. Much will be done in the field of mechanical engineering, especially in the manufacture of textile machinery. £35 million will be spent in the first five years after the war.

Seventeen per cent. of State revenue is spent on education, producing only 13 per cent. of literacy. The plan aims at doubling the number of children attending school in the next five years. This will mean doubling the cost of education from one rupee per head to two rupees per annum (about 5s. 10d.) a head. In ten years the expenditure is to be trebled. Vocational, industrial and technical schools are to be increased tenfold.

In the matter of public health and medical relief it is hoped to work up to an expenditure of £1½ million by 1950.

As regards finance about £8 million can be mobilized from depreciation, special and development funds. The rest will be provided by loans. The credit of the Mysore Government stands high and large scale borrowing should present no difficulties. There is no lack of ability and drive in the men at the head of affairs and the next five years should see great improvements in the economic life of Mysore.

TRAVANCORE

Travancore, situated at the tip of the peninsula, is about the size of Wales. Shut off from Southern India by the great mountain barrier of the Western Ghats, it lived for centuries in isolation from the rest of India. Formed by an agglomeration of small fiefs in the seventeenth century, it was threatened with destruction by Tipu Sultan towards the end of the eighteenth century. An alliance with the British warded off the danger. Most of the country is mountainous with dense tropical forests. Only a very small area comprised in a narrow strip between the foothills and the sea is capable of cultivation. The population—now 6 millions—is crowded into this narrow strip, the density reaching over 2,000 to the square mile of cultivation. The result is that the country is far from self-supporting in the matter of food, and huge quantities of rice have to be imported. This has to be paid for in exports which consist chiefly of plantation produce: copra, tea, rubber, pepper and spices and coal products. Mineral resources are of no great consequence. There is no coal or iron ore. The sand of the beaches produces monazite, zircon, ilmenite and molybdenum; these contribute to the export trade. A good quality of china clay provides the raw material of a flourishing ceramic industry.

The urgent necessity of raising the standard of living can only be achieved by the

development of industries. Much has been done in the industrial field already, especially in the setting up of textile industries, mostly coir matting. British co-operation in this form of enterprise and in the plantation industries has been of great value, and is undoubtedly appreciated.

The development of hydro-electric power on a large scale is an important element in the post war policy of the Travancore Government. The country lends itself to such development with its heavy rainfall and the feasibility of building huge reservoirs in the mountain gorges. Already a large installation known as the Pallavasal Power Station is working. Other schemes are under consideration. There is a growing demand for power, both for industry and on the tea plantations.

The Travancore Government follows the example of Hyderabad and of the Government of India in putting the increased productivity of the soil in the foreground of their planning. Electric power will be used for de-watering waterlogged lands and for lift irrigation also for producing fertilizers, from the use of which it is expected to double the output of rice per acre. A company known as Fertilizers and Chemicals (Travancore) Ltd., has been formed to produce artificial manures. The machinery estimated to cost £750,000 is to be imported from the United States.

Another important enterprise involving the use of electric power on a large scale is the production of aluminium. Here again much of the machinery is to be imported from America.

The policy the Travancore Government have in view aims at all round industrialization. Apart from expanding existing industries—e.g. textiles (coir cotton) rubber products, ceramics—it is proposed to manufacture plywood, paper, rayon, plastics, etc. It is expected that the export of such products will help to pay for the coal and iron the new industries will require. There is scope for fruit canning—e.g. for pineapples. Other elements in Travancore planning aim at the improvement of facilities for sea-borne traffic for which purpose a Steam Navigation Company is to be formed. All trunk roads are to be cemented; a factory is to be set up at an early date to produce the necessary cement. There has been a good deal of unemployment in Travancore especially in the early years of the war. Lack of shipping for the export trade was the principal cause. By now there should have been a considerable improvement in that respect. It is interesting to note that in Travancore there is considerable competition for women in the labour market explained to a great extent by the spread of education. Some 15 per cent. of women are employed in the Civil Services. One of the District Judges is a woman; another is head of the Health Department.

A first-class port has been developed in recent years at Cochin to the north of Travancore. The facilities it offers should help to stimulate Travancore overseas trade. The port is shared equally between Travancore, the neighbouring State of Cochin and the Indian Government. It handled £10 million worth of trade in 1939.

Travancore has sent 80,000 men for war service. Much has been done to stimulate the output of rubber, of which Travancore produces about 76 per cent. of Indian production. More than half the area under rubber is owned by small growers. The coir and textile industries have done useful service. Owing to the lack of engineering facilities there has not been much scope for producing mechanical equipment for military use.

OTHER SOUTHERN STATES

Cochin, a small State to the north of Travancore, resembles its neighbour in many ways in the physical aspects of the country and in the political and social fields. The population of over a million and a half presses even more heavily on the soil than in Travancore. Like the latter, Cochin must export and so buy food or perish. Post-war planning includes a big hydro-electric scheme, the power to be utilized in expanding textile and other industries in Ernakulam, the capital of the State, which lies in close proximity to the new Cochin port. Paper will be produced from the bamboo of which there are ample supplies. This small State has played an outstanding part in the war effort. It has recruited several labour units and enlisted over 10,000 men for the Army and also sent a strong Naval contingent. Many technicians have been trained.

The Kolhapur State though small in area, is politically of importance as a national centre of the great Maratha people of the Deccan. With a population of about a million, of whom half are Marathas, it occupies some 3 000 square miles of broken upland and mountainous country with no great economic possibilities. Nevertheless, the State Government has an ambitious plan of post war development. As in the other States dealt with in this paper a big scheme of hydro-electric development is the main element, power to be used in the setting up of new industries and for lifting water for irrigation purposes. Roads are to be developed, and there is an elaborate programme for improving health services irrigation for exploiting the State forests and for the exploitation of minerals. There should be possibilities of producing aluminium and chemical fertilizers on a large scale. The finances of the State have been carefully handled, and there is no reason why its hopes of better economic life should not be realized.

Within its limited resources Kolhapur has contributed to the war effort. Of its small armed force a battalion of Rifles is serving overseas. Much has been done to encourage recruiting among the Marathas generally.

The Simon Commission noted that as a result of the 1919 Reforms in British India and of the Fiscal Convention of 1921 one fourth of the population of India—viz. the people of the States—had been placed in economic subjection to their British Indian neighbours. Without a voice in tariff policy the people of the States had been compelled to contribute millions of pounds to the British Indian Treasury in the shape of customs duties on imported goods. Over and above this heavy import duty on plant and machinery hampered to some extent the expansion of industry. Nevertheless, Sir Theodore Gregory Economic Adviser to the Viceroy notes in his memorandum on the location of industry that there has been in recent years a pronounced tendency for industry to be attracted to the States. One reason for this is he thinks that the States Governments offer special inducements to encourage enterprise another is lighter taxation and low manufacturing costs. Nearly 33 per cent of the expansion of industry of recent years has occurred in the States in Hyderabad Baroda Mysore Kashmir and the Central Indian States.

Federation would have enabled the States to influence fiscal policy. That prospect has receded into the background. The States are now expected to conform to the new economic policy of the Indian Government. It is obvious enough that if they chose to stand aside they might form a serious obstacle to economic progress in India though they would do so at the risk of retaliation. The States Governments are only too ready to co-operate though it is believed that some of the leading States do not subscribe whole heartedly to the economic nationalism prevalent in powerful sections of the Indian business world. The States generally will look to Britain for the supply of the equipment and technique they will need in carrying out their industrial programmes and they would be reluctant to conclude with British India an agreement that might in any way impede British co-operation.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A joint meeting of the Association and the Royal Society of Arts was held at the Royal Society of Arts on Thursday May 17 1945 with Sir HARRY HAIG K C S I C I E in the chair. After the reading of the foregoing paper

The CHAIRMAN said I am sure we have all been greatly interested in the paper from which we have derived a much clearer appreciation of the powerful support which the States of Southern India have afforded to the war effort and the very far reaching plans they have for the economic improvement after the war of their own large populations.

This paper takes me back to one aspect of my own more superficial experience of Indian States thirty years ago when for three years I worked in one Indian State and was in touch with many others. I had a feeling at that time that the

Indian States went in for planning much more than we did in British India. It seemed to me, however, that their plans were not always entirely wise or successful—although many of them were—but they did show an initiative which was, perhaps a little lacking in British India. If that is so, they led the way. Now we have all become planners. Some people may think that it is very natural that the rulers of Indian States should be among the foremost planners for some of us—though I do not say that I agree—are inclined to think that a planner is something of an autocrat. In these days, however, we are all agreed that far reaching plans are needed.

India is full of plans, and its Government has put forward an ambitious programme. The Provinces have been invited to prepare their own very extensive plans for the new world an invitation to which they have responded. I think we may feel reassured that the great States of India are also planning and thinking ahead on parallel lines. There can be no doubt that if these plans can be carried out they will have a most valuable effect upon the lives of the people.

Looking through these plans as a whole I seem to see two main ideas in which for some time I myself have been a convinced believer. One is that side by side with the development of industry we must raise the prosperity of the rural classes who represent the vast majority of the people of India. It will not do merely to develop industry in a lop-sided way leaving the rural classes behind. The second is the importance of electricity. It is clear from these schemes that electricity can benefit the rural classes very strikingly in two different ways. In the first place it will increase the facilities for irrigation, and secondly by providing electricity in the rural areas we shall encourage the small rural industries and the processing of crops. That is in fact a policy of rural industrialization. I dwell on these two points because they were certainly uppermost in my mind when I was in the United Provinces between 1934 and 1939. We brought into force then a most ingenious and successful scheme on these lines by harnessing the falls of the Ganges canal and developing electricity capacity of 28,000 kw and distributing the supply over a large area by grid. Out of that about half was devoted to ordinary domestic purposes and industrial demands and the other half was used for the pumping up of water from 1,500 tube wells which irrigated 600,000 acres.

I mention this because that scheme was due to the imagination, initiative and drive of one man, Sir William Stampe, who is now adviser to the Government of India on these hydro-electric projects. I cannot help thinking that some of the projects which we have heard about today and many others owe something to Sir William and bear the impress of his skill and imagination.

SIR THEODORE TASKER. May I make three general points based on long experience in the Hyderabad State? My first is that post war planning in the State is not a mere following of fashion or a competition with other States. More than a decade ago Hyderabad had set aside the policy of *laissez faire* in industry and in 1929 laid the foundations of planning by creating an industrial trust fund of a crore of rupees. By the outbreak of the war that fund had brought into existence a large sugar factory, a paper factory and also a commercial alcohol factory, all the most modern of their kind in India.

In the Government of India plan for industry there are three items which Hyderabad can claim to have put into effect more than ten years ago—assisting industry by subscribing capital, taking legislative power to license factories in respect of location, and the co-ordination of different forms of transport. The State takes shares in enterprises but it does not control them on bureaucratic lines being satisfied with one or two seats on the directorate and otherwise leaving the companies to be run by business men.

As regards co-ordination of traffic, Hyderabad has taken a leaf out of the book of the Union of South Africa. Not only did it acquire the whole of the railway system, but it set up a road transport department of the railway, which controls practically the whole of the bus services and runs them in conjunction with train timings, and just prior to the war this was extended to air services.

Thus planning had begun long before the war but the war has given it all-round impetus. Two other planning items may be added to the lecturer's list. The State

set up a Road Board fifteen years before the war which controlled road development and has now produced a comprehensive scheme for a road system throughout the State. Then there is the planning of town and village extensions. The State has had, for seven or eight years now a town-planning officer, trained in this country, he has prepared not only several hundred plans for up-country but also a master plan for the extension of Hyderabad city.

There have been observations in certain quarters about the flight of capital to the States owing to their low taxation. So far as Hyderabad is concerned that is definitely not so. Of the 29 registered companies in existence 89 per cent of their capital of 629 lakhs is subscribed by the people of the State and the 11 per cent which comes from outside is outweighed by the Hyderabad Government's investments in British Indian enterprises, not to mention the very considerable investments made by Hyderabad subjects in British India. The trend has been all the other way.

My second general point is the very great internal political value of planning. Hyderabad has some fourteen committees working on post war problems under the main Planning Board and of the 102 members as many as 49 are non-officials. Economic planning can be taken outside the sphere of political and communal controversy, and is thus a very valuable approach to political understanding. Then it is an excellent thing that the younger men should see visions and dream dreams. Hyderabad recently held its seventh annual Economic Conference and Industrial Exhibition, a movement promoted by the Graduates Association all young men.

Lastly India is learning that industrial enterprise cannot brook political boundaries which must now give place to the conception of the economic region. One example of this was when Southern India set up a sugar industry which came into competition with that of the United Provinces and this led to consultation regarding markets. Consultation between the different units of India governed the movement of food grains during the war. So with irrigation. We no longer think in terms of one bank of a river but in terms of the whole river basin. In 1908 the Madras Government shelved a scheme for a Tunga Chandra dam on financial grounds and rightly so because the scheme was unilateral being entirely for irrigation on the Madras bank. Much water has flowed down the river since and on February 28 of this year H. H. the Prince of Berar inaugurated a joint project to irrigate one million acres by unveiling a pylon dedicated to the enduring goodwill and friendship of the two Governments and peoples of Madras and Hyderabad. Is it too much to hope that economic planning will do for the unity of India what political discussions have so far failed to achieve?

Lieut-Colonel D. DE M. S. FRASER. An aircraft factory has been working in Bangalore for the last four years. The establishment of this factory was due entirely to the private enterprise of an American, William Pawley, a man well known in China. He got in touch with certain industrialists and then put a scheme to the Government for building aeroplanes in India. The site chosen was in Mysore because of the fact that there was electric power and because of the climate. The Government of India, Mr. Pawley himself and another industrialist shared the capital in equal proportions. Owing to the fact that one of Mr. Pawley's factories in Lashuo was bombed and destroyed, he had at his disposal a large expert American technical staff. These were all employed in Bangalore. The arrangements were completed in 1940 and exactly a year later this big factory started work which was a wonderful example of American Indian hustle. As the war progressed the Government bought out the Mysore Government. Mr. Pawley and the other industrialist, so that it is now completely Government owned. Owing to the fact that this big factory is in Mysore territory the Mysore Government still has an interest in it to use it or buy it, after the war. It has made only a very few aeroplanes of an obsolete type, but its main work is in maintenance and the factory is now run by the American Army administratively. It gives employment to 12,000 men from Bangalore city and it will form a very big and important factory for the future after the war.

This factory has now, and has had for some time, a special branch to work out plans for transforming various plants to make things such as bicycles, sewing machines and so on.

Sir William stated that there is a proposal to build an industrial suburb to Bangalore. Here the Mysore Government is fortunate because six miles outside Bangalore was the biggest Italian prisoner-of-war camp, numbering some 24,000 to 25,000 prisoners. Those prisoners all left last year and I think it is no secret now to say that this camp has been converted into a hospital town. When this is no longer used for that purpose after the war the Mysore Government will then have a large area already equipped with excellent buildings, excellent drainage, roads and electricity—almost a ready-made industrial suburb.

Sir FREDERICK JAMES: I have greatly enjoyed Sir William Barton's lecture. I have had no official connection with any of the States which he has mentioned, for I belong to that class of the population of India which is known as non-official. I have, however, visited all those States except one quite recently and am therefore able to appreciate the lecturer's remarks on the advances which are being made in all those States.

I do not willingly share Sir William Barton's optimism as to the financial position of Hyderabad although I speak in the presence of one of its most distinguished administrators. The lecturer suggested that the finances of Hyderabad are on a sound basis, and pointed out that there is no income tax, but I do not agree with the theory that the absence of income-tax denotes the soundness of the financial system. I think that Hyderabad will have to follow the wise example of Mysore in imposing a well-graded form of income tax if she is really to implement the schemes which are now before the State for raising the standard of well-being among the masses generally.

The lecturer touched somewhat lightly upon the small but not unimportant State of Cochin. Here I should like to say that within the territorial jurisdiction of Cochin there is one of the finest examples of federal co-operation—namely the port of Cochin which is already, and will be increasingly of importance to the whole economy of southern India. Cochin has also made great strides in the matter of communications and is assisting in the work of driving roads through the hills to the great plain districts of British India.

The last paragraph of the paper suggests that perhaps the States are in a somewhat unfavourable position *vis-à-vis* British India under the present economic conditions. I am not quite sure whether that is fully justified. It is true that there has been a flight of industry into some of the States—not I think the States under review this afternoon—but certainly some of the States where the taxation burden is less onerous than in British India. Indeed that flight has been so considerable that the Government of India has been obliged to prohibit the raising by companies in the Indian States of capital from British India unless the Government is satisfied that the taxation system in those States is reasonably approximate to the taxation system in British India. It is certainly true, as Sir Theodore Tasker has said, that there is a good deal of capital going from the Indian States into British India and anyone who has been associated with the raising of capital for industrial enterprise in British India knows that that flight from the Indian States is sometimes a matter of considerable embarrassment.

The lecturer states in his paper that some of the leading States do not subscribe wholeheartedly to the economic nationalism prevalent in powerful sections of the Indian business world. That may be true. On the other hand the policy of some of the Indian States, among whom are certainly two of those which form the subject of the address, has given considerable uneasiness and disquiet to the authorities of British India because of its intense economic nationalism. There is a tendency on the part of some Indian States, in trying to make up leeway in the matter of industrial enterprise and progress, for them to embark on policies which reveal a most intense economic nationalism and a certain unwillingness to admit the existence of other units or to accept policies which have been drawn up by their neighbours. That is just as wrong as the tendency in certain Indian business quarters. One can only hope that after the war the economic pressure of events will get rid of these narrow nationalistic tendencies and that India will move forward as one single economic unit whose members by means of agricultural and industrial development, will bring the masses of the country away from their present deplorable level.

SIR CLAUDE GIDNEY I have recently received a copy of the Hyderabad post war reconstruction scheme but I have not had time to study it in detail, and I am also handicapped by the fact that it is marked for official use only. There are however, certain salient features in it which struck me on a first reading and which I should like to mention. First, the thoroughness, the comprehensiveness and the balance of the whole scheme, and, I may add the expensiveness of it. It is a scheme which compares favourably with the many other schemes which have been prepared in India. Then again Hyderabad has not so far been industrialized, and for this reason one might have expected to find in a scheme of this nature a tendency to over-stress the industrial side of post war development. This, however is not the case. The Hyderabad Government on the contrary fully appreciates the importance of rural prosperity which after all is the foundation of the prosperity of the whole of India. It has therefore, devoted a good deal of its planning as well as a good deal of the proposed expenditure to rural reconstruction. The Hyderabad Government also realizes that it is impossible to develop economically unless the health of the people is at the same time improved and I am glad to see that it is proposed as I have said to devote a large portion of the proposed expenditure to social services in the rural areas. It realizes too that you must have a contented as well as a healthy population and like other Governments it is alive to the fact that large numbers of soldiers will be returning to the countryside where they will expect better conditions of living and more amenities. This is a problem which the Government is prepared to tackle and I see that it is planning to have radios installed in a large number of villages and there are other plans for improving village life in general.

Education too is to bulk largely in the proposed expenditure and I think I may tell you that the Hyderabad Government aims at making 33 per cent of the population literate and that it has also under consideration a scheme of partial compulsory education. The Government is also taking great care in its reconstruction scheme that a fair balance should be maintained as between the needs of town and country. For example in drawing up its scheme for a large expansion of hospitals it has been careful to see that the towns do not get too large a share of hospitals and other health-giving amenities. Then too great attention is to be given to the development of cottage industries and to industries subsidiary to agriculture. There are for instance schemes for the development of fisheries poultry and brush making and I am interested to see that there is a plan for organizing locally the tanning industry and the manufacture of boots and shoes by village chamars. Arrangements for the training of the latter are to be made and centres set up for the purpose.

SIR FREDERICK JAMES has referred to the fact that there is no income tax in Hyderabad. That is true. Hyderabad has had the good fortune to see its national revenue almost doubled during these years of war without the imposition of any new taxation except for the Excess Profits Tax. But a great deal of money will be required to finance the post war reconstruction scheme estimated to cost anything up to 200 crores. And so I am prepared to bet that it will not be very long before an income-tax is imposed—a tax that will widen more fairly the basis of taxation. But apart from financial difficulties there will be others to overcome. The State is as you know, divided into different areas one of which may be called the Jagirdari area, and if the post war reconstruction scheme is to be successful and to embrace fairly and equally the whole State all the areas the Jagirdari area included will have to pay their fair share. But I believe the Hyderabad Government has the efficiency and the capability to surmount these difficulties.

SIR WILLIAM BARTON It is very gratifying to me that my paper has provoked such an excellent discussion and I think you will agree that what has been said has helped to clarify the subject. I have been asked to give my opinion as to whether the Southern Indian States endorse the Bombay Plan. I have no definite views on the point, but I take it that it is a fact that the States have been influenced by that Plan. As I have already said, I do not think they entirely agreed with the view that British co-operation should be invited only on terms which would put British enterprise in a subordinate position. If British enterprise is to come in it must come in on equal terms.

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With regard to the question of income-tax, the Hyderabad Government has a customs system which realizes almost as much as ordinary income-tax, and that is why it has not so far been necessary to impose such a tax in that country

I agree entirely with Sir Claude Gidney about the Jagirdars. People in privileged positions will have to pay their share of the cost of these big development schemes. That can be done by means of an agricultural income-tax or by some other system of contribution. It will be agreed that this question of the economic development of the Indian States will have an important bearing on the economic development of Southern India generally

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE I think it will be agreed that we have had a most interesting afternoon. The paper was highly informative, and I have myself learnt a great deal from it of which I was previously ignorant, and the speeches made in the course of the discussion have also contributed to our knowledge and information, particularly the statement made regarding the aircraft factory

There have been a great many comparisons made regarding the conditions in the Indian States and those of British India. Having had a great deal to do with questions concerning industrial development in British India I have always thought that the Indian States had a great advantage in past decades in not being under the influence of the *laissez faire* policy which prevailed in British India until a few years ago. That policy it is said has not been in force in recent years but I venture to think that the Government of India could have spent, if it wished, more money on the development of Indian industries than it actually did just as the States were able to do

In the second place in the States there was nothing like the bondage imposed on British India by the difficulties between the Central and Provincial Governments. I think Sir Frank Noyce will bear me out when I say that the struggle between the two led to neither doing very much in the way of industrial development

SIR FRANK NOYCE I agree.

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE To an Indian like myself it is very gratifying to have listened to the statement made by the lecturer about the progress which is being made in Southern India and I hope that it will be permanent and progressive

I should like to take this opportunity of proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Sir William Barton for his excellent lecture and also to our Chairman who has not only contributed very largely to the discussion today from his wide experience and excellent judgment but has given a good deal of his valuable time to come to this meeting

HOW TO RAISE STANDARDS OF LIVING IN INDIA

BY DR PAREKUNNEL J THOMAS

THE economic development of India has lately attracted considerable attention outside India. This is no wonder seeing that any improvement in the economic welfare of the 400 million people of India is bound to give a fillip to economic activity in other countries by a steadily growing demand for imports from them. The economic backwardness of India is a serious impediment to the active functioning of mass production in the highly industrialized countries of the West, and is as it were, a drag on the stability of world economy. An economically developed India might have prevented the great depression of the early thirties; it certainly would have been a more valuable asset to the United Nations in the critical days of 1941 and 1942 and thus would perhaps have helped in crushing Nazism much earlier than has been possible. India can also be a large factor in meeting the United Kingdom's need for export

markets after the war. Today owing to meagreness of purchasing power, India's effective demand for imports is limited but if the earning capacity of the Indian masses can be increased by a few pence a day not only will this enhance the happiness of a large population, but will also greatly help in solving the United Kingdom's thorny problem of finding export markets, and perhaps in lightening the worries of other industrial nations also. World economy may thus come to function more harmoniously resulting in full employment and higher living standards all over the world. Viewed in this light, India's economic development must be a matter of wide concern. Hence the importance of the subject before us.

It is now proposed to carry out the economic development of India by launching a long term plan. The principal objective of any such plan must be to increase the economic welfare of the people as a whole. How is economic welfare measured? Indeed it is usual to measure economic progress in terms of *per capita* income but figures of income per head can be misleading especially in the case of a large country like India with wide variations in wealth and income between classes and between regions. Even in more homogeneous countries like Great Britain while the total national income increased many times, the working classes remained poor. That the position in India is much worse is clear from what has happened in the past. Accumulations of wealth have been confined to certain small sections of the community who obtain large incomes from their easy labours whilst the toiling masses have remained miserably poor. Our income tax statistics bear ample testimony to this in a country with 400 million people only 300 000 persons (in 1940) had (non-agricultural) incomes above Rs 2 000 per annum. Under such conditions a doubling of the national income can happen without any tangible addition to the income of vast numbers who are outside the orbit of big business.

A more reasonable criterion is the standard of living. In other words, how much of food clothing shelter and social amenities do people actually obtain? What really matters is not the total or even *per capita* supplies of food clothing etc. we must know how much is going to or within the reach of the common man and whether he or she is able to live in reasonable comfort. This is not merely humanitarian sentiment. A country where more than 60 per cent of the population have not even the bare requirements of food and clothing cannot be a growing market for the products of its industry. Nor can such people be good neighbours because malnutrition will cause ill health and ill health cannot be segregated within a class or locality.

LOW LIVING STANDARDS

Without going into elaborate statistical analysis it is possible for the most cursory onlooker to see that the living standards of the common people in India are low in some places miserably low. Nor is this true of villages only there is appalling poverty even in big industrial centres like Bombay. The dingy hovels which house large numbers of ill-clad unkempt and semi-starved people cannot escape the notice of anyone. Poor living conditions necessarily are a serious drag on productivity. Nor can a people living under them have high moral or cultural standards. Poverty begets not only physical misery but moral degradation.

The raising of living standards must be the central objective of any plan. But how is this to be carried out? Some think that public health and popular education must be taken up first. But the large public funds needed for these are not now available, nor can such ventures be financed by loans. Further, for availing themselves of such services the masses must have fuller stomachs and higher purchasing power. It is true that in the absence of refined tastes enhanced incomes may be (have been) used for hoarding gold and silver or worse still for drink and drugs. Similarly, good health is itself an essential condition for efficient labour. But at the present low levels of incomes in India rapid advances in health and education are not feasible, and therefore without neglecting these pivotal social services even at the start, we have to concentrate on the increase of production and income so that at the later stages of the plan there may be ample resources for providing full social security for all on the lines now being attempted in the United Kingdom.

INCOMES AND POPULATION

First, then, comes income. That the incomes of working classes, including the numerous cultivators are exceedingly low, has been proved by economic surveys all over the country. The average annual income of the agricultural population was hardly Rs 50 before the war. Perhaps this is an under-estimate, but even if it were 50 per cent higher it must be considered inadequate for a reasonable living standard. Why are incomes so low? In the case of wage-earners it may be true that the smallness of the income is due to the low wages inevitable in a country where the Iron Law of Ricardo holds good, many labourers having to compete amongst themselves for the scanty employment available. But this cannot be said of the cultivators who work their own holdings. Their incomes are also extremely low. No doubt this is partly due to their uneconomic holdings. But by employing a different technique of production or mode of organization, large additions to production can be made and thus incomes increased as has been done elsewhere.

Some may interpose here the familiar problem of over population when incomes increase there will be also more mouths to feed. But the more pertinent question to ask is Has not India adequate resources to maintain in reasonable comfort the present and even a larger population? Cannot the teeming millions of India be made a valuable asset if the large labour force can be properly utilized? When Malthus raised the bogey of over population in England conditions there were nearly the same as in India now but economic development soon overtook population increase, and with the rise of living standards the rate of population increase slowed down. The same can be the trend of India also and what is needed is to raise the living standards by making full use of the large natural resources available. A great deal of labour is now wasted and this is the root cause of the trouble. When labour is fully employed national income will increase, living standards can be raised and the threat of over population will vanish. Full employment is therefore the remedy and the emphasis on it at the San Francisco Conference is indicative of a welcome change in outlook.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

The term full employment has to be used with caution. In the economist's jargon it means the ironing out of cyclical fluctuations in employment. Unemployment in the industrialized Western countries is largely of a cyclical character. In India too, such phenomena have appeared in recent times, and we had a bitter taste of it ten years ago. But our major problem is the perennial unemployment or under-employment resulting from the fact that especially in rural tracts there is no work for nearly half the year. This is particularly true of areas like Bengal where according to a recent estimate nearly a third of the rural population have little employment even normally. It means that large numbers of adults are living on the labour of others. According to one account, there are 40 million people unemployed in India. This may be an over-estimate if it takes note only of the fully unemployed; it can only be an under-estimate if the inadequately employed also are included. Whatever it be it is certain that a large part of the human and material resources of India are unemployed, and this must be the fundamental cause of the scanty production and meagre incomes. The remedy for this is more fully to employ the idle labour so that there may be more goods in the country, and to see that large shares of the goods come into the hands of the working classes. Fuller employment is the only way to higher national income, which is the first step in raising living standards.

How can employment be increased? The method usually suggested is to transfer the superfluous rural workers to industry and thus bring about a more balanced economy. By rapid industrialization the Bombay Plan envisages a doubling of the national income in fifteen years. From the enhanced national income ample funds will be drawn for providing the whole country with the essential social services—education, public health, water supply, roads, housing, etc.

In the present circumstances of India a quickening of industrialization is indeed essential not only as a means of strengthening the military defences of the country, but also for producing our essential requirements of ordinary finished goods for which

external dependence is not advisable, for increasing our internal demand for our primary products, and not least for a rapid accumulation of taxable income by which alone the much-desired expansion of social services in the country could be financed. In fact, even for the improvement of Indian agriculture, a more rapid industrial development has become essential in many ways and therefore there is no essential rivalry between the interests of agriculture and of industry.

But to expect that industrialization will cure unemployment is futile. An essential characteristic of modern power-driven industry is the meagre demand for labour which it creates. Mass production needs much capital but little human labour. This is particularly true of industries involving complicated technical processes and requiring elaborate machinery. All our basic industries together may not require more than 100,000 labourers for some time to come. India needs a large quantity of fertilizers for its extensive agricultural acreage, but the amount now required can be produced by employing about 2,000 workers. We may need only about 3 or 4 million workers to produce nearly all our present requirements of capital and consumption goods and even this number will be much too superfluous if our production per man hour attains anything like the American or even the Japanese level.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

So far industrialization in India has only aggravated unemployment. Of the 15 million workers engaged in industry (1931 census), 13 millions pursue handicrafts. The advance of power-driven industry has robbed these handicrafts of their markets and of their employment. One example would suffice. Even before the war the mills had come to supply more than 60 per cent of the cotton textiles required in the country leaving to the handlooms only about 25 per cent of the market (the remainder being supplied by imports). While the mills thus came to employ about 400,000 persons, unemployment has been the result to the 6 million persons engaged in the hand weaving industry and utter misery to the 4 million women and children dependent on them. This let us remember happened in spite of the active support of handicrafts by the most powerful political party in the country.

The Bombay Plan proposes to encourage small scale industries also if by small scale is meant handicrafts. Considerable employment can be maintained but wages cannot be adequate and sweating will be the result. The plight of hand spinners is well known. It is generally recognized that the use of hydro-electric power is desirable for enabling the worker to turn out a reasonable output. If this is done—and one cannot see how it can be prevented—the numbers now engaged in handicrafts will become altogether superfluous and there will be considerable unemployment. The substitution of power looms for hand looms has enabled the cottage worker to produce five times the output, but it has also caused widespread unemployment among hand weavers (e.g., the Bombay Province). The wide use of cheap electrical power will produce the same results all over the country and unemployment will become widespread. If at least the comparatively few workers now engaged in handicrafts cannot be maintained in industrial occupations, how can industry be expected to draw surplus labour from rural areas?

In spite of this the Bombay Plan raises the hope that within fifteen years the proportion of people engaged in industrial occupations can be raised to 26 per cent (i.e. more than doubled). I see no ground for sharing this optimism. Japan, which has been producing heavily for export, largely using small-scale methods too, could provide employment for only 15.5 per cent. of its workers in industry (including building). A highly industrialized country like the U.S.A. has only 27 per cent of its workers engaged in industry. And India where industry has to face serious obstacles where hardly 2 per cent. of the total workers have so far found employment in organized industries, is expected to give industrial employment to 26 per cent. of its workers within a few years! This looks a little too ambitious, at any rate on the plan proposed.

If the chances of increasing employment in industry are so meagre one wonders how the living standards envisaged in the Bombay Plan could be realized. It is true that several countries in Europe—not only the United Kingdom, but Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark—have industrialized themselves on the basis of export

markets and have thereby been able to obtain essential imports on favourable terms, thus raising their living standards. India, with her low technical skill and her serious deficiencies in regard to key raw materials and capital supplies may not be able to pursue such a policy. In war-time India has had all its internal market and some external markets too, but when the high industrial potential developed in the West during war time is switched on to peace-time production imports may become available at such low prices that even our internal markets may become difficult to maintain without raising sky-high tariff walls.

The expectation of some well-meaning persons is that by having a few big industries national income can be so raised as to provide large public funds for being spent on the social services needed for raising living standards. But they forget that without fuller employment and widespread purchasing power among the masses the industrialization they desire is not practicable in the conditions of India. A few industries may be started, some business men will make large profits, and a few more labourers may be employed, but the full employment and higher living standards envisaged in the plan will not materialize and widespread social discontent may be the result. The fact is that in the peculiar conditions of India industrialization cannot be successfully carried out by itself, but only as part of a comprehensive plan of economic development. In such a plan the improvement of the agriculturists purchasing power and the provision of essential public utilities are integral parts.

AGRICULTURE AND EMPLOYMENT

The raising of the living standards of agriculturists is of the utmost importance, because, as more than 70 per cent of the population is connected with agriculture, only by raising their purchasing power can the extension of the internal market desired by Indian (as also Western) industrialists be carried out. The great majority of agriculturists are small cultivators or landless labourers. The lowness of agricultural incomes is not due merely to uneconomic holdings and unscientific methods, but also to the large slices of the produce going to the landholder and the money lender under the prevailing systems of tenure and credit. For raising the agriculturists' incomes therefore, a great deal of radical reform has to be carried out, reform which will affect vested interests of landowners, moneylenders and a long chain of middlemen. This can only be carried out by a strong Government in whom the people have full confidence. It also calls for a long period policy if non-revolutionary methods are preferred. A plan for agricultural improvement has lately been devised by Government and one hopes that it will be launched at an early date.

But the most successful efforts at agricultural improvement will not enable all the present rural workers to obtain full employment in agriculture. In fact, under a more scientific system of agriculture a smaller number of workers will be able to raise a much larger production than now and therefore rural unemployment may only be aggravated by agricultural improvement. No modern economy can maintain as many as 72 per cent of the workers in agriculture. In Soviet Russia, with much larger supplies of fertile virgin land to draw upon, agricultural employment had been maintained at a high level but even there it has lately fallen.

There are however two avenues for increased employment in agricultural areas. For occupying agriculturists in their idle months and days and for supplementing their meagre incomes subsidiary employment can be provided by a carefully planned system of small scale industries especially handicrafts, worked on a co-operative basis. Another large source of employment is in irrigation works big and small which will be required all over the country if farming is to become less dependent on rainfall. No doubt some of the rivers have been dammed and their water is now available for agricultural use. But even now much the greater part of the rain water is wasted, by impounding such water in suitable reservoirs more lands can be brought under cultivation and more crops can be grown on existing land. The construction of such irrigation works would give large employment, not only at the initial stages but subsequently for repairs and maintenance also. Irrigation is of basic importance, and it deserves a high priority in the plan.

All this may give employment to some more of the rural labourers, but even so, more than 50 per cent. of the total number of workers may not find gainful occupa-

tion in agriculture. As shown above, the chances of industry absorbing any large numbers are not great. Where, then, should they turn for full employment?

TERTIARY OCCUPATIONS

The answer to this has to be found in trade, transport, services and other tertiary occupations. This is the experience of the thickly populated countries of the West where large proportions of the workers are employed in tertiary occupations. The proportion is as high as 50 per cent. in the United Kingdom and 54 per cent. in the U.S.A. (In advanced parts of the U.S.A.—e.g. California—the proportion is above 60 per cent.) It is also significant that while the proportions of workers engaged in agriculture and even industry have been steadily falling, the proportion of those engaged in trade, transport and services has been increasing. Thus in Japan only 10 per cent. of the workers in 1872 were engaged in tertiary occupations, but by 1930 the proportion rose to 30 per cent. India's proportion of workers (1931) in tertiary occupations—i.e. 13 per cent.—is rather exaggerated owing to the inclusion of 2 million persons engaged in unproductive occupations and numerous married women who are wrongly returned as engaged in domestic service. The Bombay Plan proposes to raise the proportion to only 16 per cent. after fifteen years. There is it appears to me a serious lack of perspective in this. It is not possible to relieve rural unemployment in India without greatly increasing the number of workers engaged in trade, transport and the various services. Nor is this impracticable in fact: in the conditions of India it is much easier to increase employment in trade and transport than in industry. As for services, no rise in living standards is possible without greatly increasing the number of persons providing the numerous services required for refined living. Strange as it may appear, while the Bombay Plan aims at raising the living standards of the masses and makes provision for health agencies, schools and various public amenities, it does not envisage any substantial increase in the number of persons supplying these services. How then does the Bombay Plan propose to raise living standards?

It is true that as the more refined social needs can be met only after a sufficient rise in incomes, the employment in services will only rise slowly, but this is not true in regard to transport and trade and the creation of the various public utilities required for industrial development as well as for improved living. The first step in the economic development of any country is to provide an efficient system of communications—roads, railways, waterways, airways—and to supply the various public utilities—electric power, water supply, housing—which are essential for industrial and agricultural improvement. These also provide large openings for employment, first in constructing them and later in their maintenance and upkeep. With the expansion of roads and railways, the movement of goods and persons will increase and the vehicles and other appurtenances required will give vast employment. In recent years a striking increase has taken place in the number of transport workers, but we have no accurate figures as the occupational data of the 1941 census have not been tabulated. With the expansion of transport, trade will increase, especially distributive trade. Markets will then become active, new shopping areas will spring up, banking and financial agencies will arise. A great increase in employment will result from all this and the effects will be cumulative. Not only unskilled labourers but technicians of all kinds will be required and intellectual workers too for management and clerical work.

ROADS AND HOUSING

The effects on employment of a road-making programme are tremendous, especially if the roads are made in rural areas. Even in the U.S.A. where much machinery is used in road-making, it is found that 81 per cent. of the expenditure incurred on roads went to employment—29 per cent. on direct employment on the road and 52 per cent. on labour employed in producing and transporting materials for construction. Of course the position in India must be more favourable for employment, especially of unskilled workers. In this light the 450-crores road programme recently made in India cannot be regarded as extravagant; it may give a great fillip to economic improvement in many directions, especially if village communications are taken up.

An essential basis for the raising of living standards is the supply of clean and

adequate house room Thus an extensive programme of slum clearance and building construction can simultaneously secure two important objectives—namely, improvement of public health and higher living standards. It can also produce another important result—fuller employment. Building construction provides the largest employment in most civilized countries, it also leads to much secondary and tertiary employment, as it involves a great demand for goods like iron and steel, timber, bricks, pottery, water fittings, electrical goods, etc.

Any plan of economic development in India must therefore give an important place to irrigation works, roads, buildings and other structures, and public utilities generally. It is no wonder that in highly developed countries like the U.S.A. these items account for not less than a third of the total productive capital invested. Only by pursuing the same policy can India carry out a stable economic development. There is no better road to full employment and higher living standards.

A BALANCED OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

If a plan of this kind can be pushed through, the present unbalanced occupational structure of India can be modified to suit a modernized economy and the pathetic dependence on agriculture can be toned down by employing larger numbers in tertiary occupations. India's occupational structure at the end of the planning period may be somewhat as follows:

	<i>Pre War (Per Cent)</i>	<i>After 15 Years (Per Cent)</i>
Agriculture	72	50
Industry	15	20
Trade transport, services	13	30
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

The advance in industry looks small, because the present proportion of workers is rather exaggerated by the inclusion of the numerous under-employed craftsmen, but with a change in the technique, production can treble or even quintuple without any great addition to the proportion of workers engaged in industry. If by fuller employment on the plan sketched above living standards rise rapidly the pace of industrial development can be greatly quickened and the proportion of workers in industry will increase.

A FOUR PRONGED DRIVE

Our plan must make provision for simultaneous advance in many directions. Without going into detail, a four pronged drive somewhat on the following lines may be suggested:

- (1) *Basic industries*—especially machine tools, agricultural implements, basic chemicals, hydro-electric works, etc.
- (2) *Industries and activities for raising economic equipment*—irrigation works, roads, railways, waterways, slum clearance, building construction, etc.
- (3) *Agricultural improvement*, especially such activity as would lead to the enhancement of rural purchasing power.
- (4) *Consumption goods industries* mostly to be pursued on a small scale without the use of elaborate machinery.

The crux of the planning problem is priorities. Our capital resources are limited, and as financial jugglery will not ultimately pay, we have to make careful use of our resources and must carry out our development without impinging too much on current consumption. The prime consideration must be the addition to employment and purchasing power, because only by fully employing more and more of the population could living standards be raised and thus only could stable foundations for any rapid industrial advance be laid. In this light the allotment of funds proposed in the Bombay Plan calls for considerable modification. For instance, in the first five-year period 35 per cent of the total amount (i.e., Rs. 480 crores) is to be spent on basic industries. But very little of it would go into the hands of the working classes. On the other hand, the provision made for items mentioned under (2) above is meagre.

It is too small having regard to their great importance in adding to economic equipment and providing essential employment, especially during a period in which depression and unemployment are likely to arise. The success of the plan depends on wise investment both in the public sector and in the private. There will be demands for investment in many directions, but our resources being limited the available supply will have to be distributed among the alternative channels keeping in view the central objective of expanding mass purchasing power and raising living standards.

What has been said above applies not only to the long priced plan but to the tackling of the economic maladjustments that may arise immediately after the war, when the large expenditure now incurred for war purposes will be more than halved rather abruptly. If at that juncture adequate private outlay will come forth to replace war expenditure there may not be much trouble. As this is not likely the State will have to carry out schemes of investment on essential public works which have been held up during war time selecting in particular such works as will give the maximum employment and add to essential economic equipment. This is a most urgent problem and it is hoped that this will be properly attended to. The maintenance of rural purchasing power by preventing a post war slump in the prices of primary products is another matter calling for urgent action. Only if the transition from war to peace is carefully carried out could the long term plan be safely initiated at an early date.

CONCLUSION

I shall now recapitulate. The raising of living standards should be the central objective of any long period plan and this can only be secured by fuller employment of the labour and natural resources now lying idle. While industrial development and agricultural improvement are both essential neither of them will give adequate employment to India's unemployed millions. No doubt small-scale methods will give some extra employment and this seems reasonable if pursued without unduly impairing efficiency but the only proper solution is the diversion of a much larger number of labourers to transport, trade and services which in advanced countries form the sheet anchor of full employment. With this aim in view a comprehensive plan of national development must be launched with special emphasis on public utilities. This will provide vast employment, and will also pave the way for a rise in living standards. Then and not till then, can industrialization go forward and absorb large numbers of labourers. Not only will this increase the economic welfare of India's teeming millions but external trade will greatly expand and India will be able to take her proper place in world economy.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Thursday June 28, 1945, at the Royal Society Burlington House Piccadilly, W 1 with Sir SAMUEL RUNGANADHAN presiding. The paper prepared by Professor P J THOMAS Economic Adviser to the Indian Delegation to the United Nations Conference, was read in his absence at San Francisco by Dr M QURESHI.

The CHAIRMAN said that owing to the prolongation of the San Francisco conference Dr Thomas was unable to be present, but Dr Qureshi, a scientist and one who was interested in agricultural development in India, particularly in the State of Hyderabad, had kindly undertaken to read the paper for him. Dr Thomas was a well known economist and was Professor of Economics in the University of Madras. During the war he had been adviser to several Government Departments, he was also the author of several works on economics, and his researches included a comprehensive survey of the textile industry in India. Lately he had made a survey of wartime development of industries in India. He was a leading member of the old Syrian Church of South

India. He was member for nine years of the Madras Legislative Assembly and was thus well qualified to write upon the subject under consideration.

After the reading of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN said that the writer, unlike most professional economists, had treated his subject in quite simple language and with great lucidity and had developed his thesis fairly convincingly. That thesis was that if the raising of the standards of living of the great masses in India was the first and greatest objective of all economic planning for India, then industrialization should become part of a comprehensive whole, and in that comprehensive planning the improvement of the agriculturist's purchasing power and the provision of essential public utilities should form integral parts. There was great unanimity of opinion on this point: all were agreed that India's greatest evil was poverty and that a nation-wide co-operative effort was needed to fight against want and disease.

The writer of the paper had spoken somewhat deprecatingly of statistics but the average annual income per head in India had been shown to be under £5, that should be compared with the figure in Great Britain of £75 or the figure in the United States of £105, and some idea of the appalling poverty would be gained. Even this figure of £5 per annum per head gave no indication of the millions of landless labourers who received barely 3d per day or of the millions who were perennially unemployed or mostly under-employed and could not get even one square meal a day.

Dr Thomas had made various criticisms of the Bombay Plan which showed that he had approached the whole problem of economic planning for India from a somewhat different angle. The Bombay Plan, as he rightly said, gave special emphasis and special priority to basic industries because it was believed that the whole economic development of India rested upon those industries. The authors of the Bombay Plan believed that the period of dependence on foreign countries and on foreign help should be shortened as far as possible. Dr Thomas, while not denying the importance of the development of basic industries, was of the opinion that in the initial stages consideration should be given to ways of increasing employment and of strengthening the purchasing power of the average man, and that larger sums than those provided for in the Plan should be spent on irrigation works, communications, housing, and all the other things which would provide tertiary occupations for the large masses of the people. He had specially in mind the transition period from war to peace, when millions of people, including $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of demobilized soldiers and millions working in war factories, would be out of employment, and when the purchasing power artificially created by the demand for war industries would come to an end, and he was most anxious that during this period there should be a smooth working of the economic plan and no great suffering or want.

To the speaker's mind it was largely a question of priorities. In a scheme so vast and complex there were bound to be differing views as to the best method of achieving the common end of raising the standard of living of the great masses of India. The Government of India was desirous of evolving machinery which would enable an agreed policy to be implemented in a spirit of friendly co-operation on the part of all parties in India. It was fully aware of the need for a forward policy for maintaining employment in India at the highest possible level. It had made it clear that the available capital resources of India should be used in such a way as to ensure a balanced plan of industrial, agricultural and other developments in India, and that within the field of manufactured goods a balance should be maintained between capital goods and consumer goods. Projects for public works development, including roads and communications, were receiving the fullest consideration. The Government of India's plans for road and rail developments were estimated to cost about Rs. 450 crores.

If the standard of living of the people of India was to be raised effectively, a big and sustained effort was needed both on the part of the Government, of private industry and the general public, and there should be such a co-ordination of the various plans for economic development now in the field as would bring the most satisfactory results in as short a time as possible.

SIR HUGH HOOD said that he found himself in general agreement with most of what Dr Thomas had said and he had brought out the point to which the Chairman had referred of the necessity for a balanced development. It was necessary to develop both industries and agriculture but the development of agriculture, for instance, was not just a matter for the Agricultural Department—the Public Health Department came into it—there must be better communications in fact every department of Government was more or less concerned. Up to the present the various provincial governments had produced plans for post war development. Those plans were presumably primarily intended to raise the standard of living, but they were a large series of individual schemes there did not appear to be any single plan so that there was a great deal of work to be done on these plans if there was not to be a scramble between the different sections for the biggest share of whatever money was available.

He had been concerned in the early stages of formulating a number of these plans and the difficulty was that nobody knew exactly how much money would be available, and without that knowledge it was not possible to make very specific plans. The Bombay Plan said that so much money would be required and how it would be raised but not everyone was convinced that it was possible to raise that amount of money or to spend it, within the time contemplated. It was necessary to have a plan indicating not only what schemes were to be carried out but what share of the money available was to be allocated to each scheme or department. It was still necessary to produce a fully articulated plan and it was probable that the Governments were working on that at the moment.

MR R W BROCK (formerly Editor of *Capital*) while in broad agreement with the lecturer's analysis stated that one of his comments which needed to be supplemented was with regard to the volume of employment created or provided by mechanized industry. For example Dr Thomas asserted that the cotton mills employed 400 000 workers and left it to be assumed that that was the total volume of employment the mechanized manufacture of cotton goods had established. This however was not the whole of the story inasmuch as it ignored the much larger volume of indirect employment so made available comprising the growers of the raw material (25 million acres being devoted to cotton cultivation and the mills taking the larger part of the crop), the traders and transport workers engaged in moving the crop from the fields to the factories, and finally the distribution throughout India and to many oversea markets of the five thousand million yards of cotton goods the mills produced. The same line of reasoning applied to the jute mills, which consumed about 60 to 70 per cent of Bengal's most profitable crop as well as to the steel works the sugar mills and other industries consuming Indian raw materials. Furthermore the fact that Indian manufacturing industries absorbed so large a percentage of Indian primary products emphasized the close interdependence of agriculture and industry in India. It was true that according to the latest figures, the number of factory workers was only 2½ millions, compared with an annual increase in the total population of 5 millions but in view of the factor of indirect employment already stressed, this did not imply that further development of mechanized manufacture was not essential on the contrary, it was never more necessary.

There was, however one vital prerequisite to full industrial development. Dr Thomas might have laid heavier emphasis on the extent to which moneylending represented a hindrance to full expansion. Mass production the essential foundation of mechanized manufacture, necessitated the highest attainable level of mass consumption and this was not possible so long as the moneylenders retained their present stranglehold on the rural population. A small amount of headway had been made by the development of the co-operative movement, but there were still only 5½ million members with a working capital of £175 millions compared with about £750 millions owed by cultivators to the moneylenders, who moreover were in many cases the purchasers of the cultivators' produce and fixed the prices at which they bought the crops. The death of usury must precede the rebirth of agriculture in the modern incarnation essential equally to rural and industrial progress. Finally as an indication of increasing industrialization and self-sufficiency in India Mr Brock quoted

figures showing that, in the last year for which official calculations were available, India's exports of manufactured goods represented 47 per cent of her total shipments, while of her total imports only 55 per cent were in the same category imports and exports of finished goods therefore being now almost equal

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM believed that the path of development would be much more difficult than the planners indicated. He had been connected with a Province which was poor and backward in many ways (Sind), and he had suffered many disillusionments in his efforts to help its progress. He remembered opening a factory which intended to spin yarn and weave fine shirting from the cottons of Sind and it seemed to be obvious that it was bound to succeed but the factory went into liquidation before it started weaving. It could not sell its yarn it could not compete with the Bombay yarn. It never began to weave. The same was true of schemes of irrigation: it was said that if the water was provided the crops were bound to grow. Growing crops under irrigation was more difficult than growing them under a fairly regular rainfall. The Agricultural Department spent a great deal of time trying to persuade cultivators to grow with less and less water but the idea of the average cultivator was that the more water he got the better his crops would be. On the contrary, the best cultivator in Sind, who had been trained in Madras and seen agricultural service in Mesopotamia, used as little water as possible but the zamindars did not believe it nor would they go to his estate to see the crops he was producing. There was a time when every zamindar said he was being ruined by the barrage because of the limit on consumption imposed by the modules. The modules were a beneficent form of rationing water and if one was not careful the Zamindar would put in a pipe and get too much water. An enormous amount could be done for agriculture by the agricultural department but not if the members of the department sat in the headquarters of the district they must go and work in the villages and grow good crops beside the indifferent crops of the villagers and demonstrate that agriculture was not a mystery and a question of getting extra water on the soil from the Government, but of hard work with a modicum of intelligence.

It had been said that the cultivator was only employed for six months in the year. He did not know how that applied in other parts of India but in Sind if full advantage was to be drawn from the barrage the cultivator should be working twelve months in the year and very often twelve hours in the day. He had to take his water in his turn, and it might be the middle of the night! He had to grow two crops, and in between he had to clean his land and watercourses so that no water was wasted. It was a twelve months job for the cultivator of irrigated land to do the best with his land and to reach those increased standards of production envisaged by the planners.

Nothing had been said about the immense handicap to agriculture of malaria nor about land tenures. He did not believe that anywhere in the whole of India was the land tenure more ungenerous than in Sind, where the great mass of cultivators were tenants on an annual tenure with no right to cultivate for a second year, or certainty that they would not be switched to another piece of land or turned out altogether. There was undoubtedly a great deal to be done in the way of improving land tenures, thereby giving confidence to the cultivators.

Among other things needing attention was nutrition. The ignorance in India of what was good to eat was perfectly appalling and that ignorance was not confined to the uneducated. The classes in India which suffered most from a diet consisting exclusively of polished rice were the most highly educated class in Bengal and Madras. There was an immense task ahead in endeavouring to get the people to change their habits, and it had not been mentioned in any of the plans.

Dr Wrench, a private medical practitioner in Karachi, had envisaged a plan for improving the cultivation of India, and it was contained in the one word: compost, a form of manure. Compost was one of the big things in the development of agriculture in India, and was worth far more than any chemical manure. The cultivator could make it for himself. Dr Wrench was entirely unable to persuade the Corporation of Karachi to compost the waste of that considerable city with a view to selling it to the neighbouring farmers for growing vegetables. The battle with

ignorance was not only with the poor but also with the rich and comparatively educated

There was no royal road there were many paths which had to be trod over and over again, and all these wonderful plans would fail unless some of the simplest principles which were now neglected in India were effectively applied

SIR ALFRED WATSON said that such warnings as Dr Thomas had given were very necessary because unless there was care there would be enormous waste and very serious financial loss in the execution of the various plans for India Dr Thomas had said that the market must be provided for the products of industrialization This could only be done by raising the level of the agriculturist in India During the war that level had been raised The income of India had multiplied by two or three times but the effect had been disguised by the lack of consumer goods There had been considerable inflation and one of the first tasks of the Government of the future would be to gradually reduce that inflation

It was more than twenty years ago since he had calculated that if the income of the Indian people was raised by one rupee per annum the purchasing power of India would be raised by £20 million sterling If incomes were increased by 1 rupee per week the purchasing power would be raised to astronomical figures Dr Thomas was right in saying that the calculation of the Bombay Plan that 26 per cent of the population could be employed in large-scale industry was wrong for it would give a working force in India greater than that of the United States Great Britain and Germany combined The world would be flooded with a glut of goods It was not necessary that India should have anything like that number of people employed in industry or if they were so employed that they should work full hours The words full employment were used very vaguely he would regard himself as fully employed if he could earn in two hours a day enough to live upon If India by adding to the industrial production of the world could reduce the hours of working throughout the world she would make a marked contribution to world welfare

DR QURESHI said that he was not replying for Dr Thomas although he would like to add to the discussion Dr Thomas had rightly pointed out that the central objective must be the raising of the standard of living of the masses of the people The income *per capita* which was an arithmetical average, could be doubled without any corresponding actual increase in the income of the vast majority of the population An economic plan for India had therefore to deal not only with the question of production but also with the question of distribution The Bombay planners had dealt exclusively with distribution in the second part of their plan There had been many plans he had been through them all and there were many points of similarity between them Dr Thomas said that the question of full employment could not be solved by an increase in industrial expansion That had been discussed in the second part of the Bombay plan It was a question of figures, and he would say that planning was not an exact science, and it was difficult to say whether 26 per cent or 13 per cent was correct

As an instance Dr Thomas had said that fertilizers were very much needed for the improvement of the land but that the whole demand could be met by factories employing a few thousand workers Here was an example of how difficult it was to calculate He himself was connected with the fertilizer industry The total demand was about 2 million tons per year The Government was starting a factory which would produce 350 000 tons, and for that factory alone at least 2,000 skilled and unskilled labourers would be needed, leaving aside the many people who would get employment as distributors and transporters

He agreed that the Bombay planners had under-estimated the number of workers who would be absorbed by the public services While Dr Thomas thought that they would increase up to 30 per cent of the total working population the Bombay Plan put the figure at 16 per cent This was, however, purely an academic question and did not prevent them going forward upon the principles of the Bombay Plan

Referring to the question of compost raised by a member during discussion, he said that the utilization of municipal waste was a difficult question The waste of

London for instance was not being used for fertilizers. These things would be tried, but it did not solve the problem of the lack of artificial fertilizers. In principles Dr Thomas's Plan and the Bombay Plan did not differ, Dr Thomas had put emphasis on the utility services transport, building of roads, etc. and said that they should be taken up first. The speaker did not think that India could invest a large amount of money on these utility services without simultaneously spending some money on industry. The roads, railways, ships and planes would be built, but where were the goods and persons to move? All these things were important, but there must be other things too. The whole plan must be a co-ordinated one and one could not expect to have one thing first and wait for a long time for another.

SIR HENRY SHARP voiced the thanks of the meeting to Dr Thomas in his absence for the paper he had so admirably prepared on a problem which gave all great heart-searchings. Secondly, he would express thanks to the reader of the paper and, finally to Sir Samuel Runganadhah for sparing the time to preside over the meeting and for his valuable contribution to the discussion.

Dr P. J. THOMAS has sent us the following remarks.

My great disappointment at my inability to be present at the meeting was I must confess somewhat relieved by the rather favourable reception of my paper by those present. A few of the comments, however call for reply.

Mr Brock disapproves of my views regarding the meagreness of employment provided by mechanized industry. He says that in estimating the total employment provided by cotton mills we must take account of the number of agriculturists who produce the crop the number of traders dealing in raw cotton, the number of transport workers, etc. This, one fears, is beside the point because whether the cotton is spun and woven by hand workers or by mills, all the work on the raw material will be going on. My point is that the total number of labourers required for working up raw cotton into cloth falls drastically when spinning and weaving are done by machinery. The remedy is not to abolish the mills but to provide some other work for hand-spinners and weavers, or to safeguard hand-spinning and weaving in fields specially demarcated for them.

Mr Brock thinks also that I should have laid heavier emphasis on the evils of indebtedness among agriculturists and he still quotes the old large figures of such indebtedness. Perhaps he does not know that nearly all the agricultural debt has been wiped out during the last four years as a result of high war time prices of farm products. The evil may still lift its head and steps must indeed be taken to scotch it. In any case there was no point in my dealing with this subject, however important it may be otherwise, in a paper dealing with problems of fuller employment and higher standards of living.

As a scientist Dr Qureshi naturally places production in the forefront, but production, in the present conditions of India, has to wait on distribution. In a country where nearly all the workers are under-employed and many millions normally unemployed, adequate purchasing power will not be forthcoming for making rapid industrial production possible, unless other action is also taken to stimulate employment and incomes. No doubt the second part of the Bombay Plan deals with distribution but the problems raised in it have to be pursued much further if planning in India is to result in the raising of living standards. The points I raise are not merely regarding a few figures, as Dr Qureshi thinks they go much beyond as is clear from the paper. It is too often thought that rural unemployment in India could be remedied by industrialization. The Bombay Plan and even the Government reports on planning have not helped very much in dispelling this unsatisfactory notion. Neither industry nor agriculture could give adequate employment to India's teeming millions. Transport and trade and services must expand and the first step to this is to have more roads railways, hydro-electric works and other public utilities. In the course of their construction employment can also be considerably increased. The Bombay Plan indeed has a place for roads and other utilities, but does not give them the importance they deserve. The Bombay Plan has done a great service in placing Indian planning on the map and is a good foundation to work

on But it has to be elaborated and many obscurities have to be clarified My remarks are only intended for this purpose and not for detracting from its value

Finally I must express my sincere thanks to the Association for arranging a discussion on the paper

INDIAN HEALTH PROBLEMS SOME RECENT VOLUNTARY EFFORTS

I

LESSONS OF THE BENGAL FAMINE

By LIEUT-COLONEL I M ORR OBE MD CHM FRCS RAMC (RETIRED)

The tragedy of the famine in Bengal in 1943 brought into sharp relief the woeful inadequacy of existing medical services. Famine conditions were followed by disease which threatened to assume epidemic proportions. In five months in the latter part of 1943, 87 845 cholera deaths were reported. The possibility of an epidemic spreading from Bengal throughout India became serious and the effect on the war effort would have been great indeed as eastern Bengal was the base and main line of communication for the operations in Burma. In short the problem of famine relief and in particular medical relief became not merely a humanitarian project but a political and military concern of the highest consequence.

As the famine dragged on more and more people required hospital treatment but normal peace-time services were quite inadequate for the purpose. In November, 1943 there were in Bengal with its population of 60 000 000 only 7 400 hospital beds. A large proportion of these beds were in well-equipped modern hospitals in Calcutta which meant that in the rural areas where the need was greatest there was 1 bed per 8 000 of the population and in many cases these beds existed on paper only.

One hospital in a large town the headquarters of a district and serving an area of over a million people, had 47 beds on paper but in fact there were no beds. Such people as cared to seek its shelter lay on the floor the equipment was almost nil and though there was a small X ray plant its use was restricted to those who could afford to pay fees far beyond the means of the ordinary villager. Nursing facilities were in keeping with the equipment. On enquiry being made as to why the facilities were so meagre the reply was that the people of that district did not come to hospitals, they did not believe in them. They preferred to die a natural death!

The civil administration sought to rectify the position by the erection of famine hospitals and by December 13 000 additional beds were made available 128 doctors, 550 sanitary inspectors, and over 1 000 health assistants were trained and put into the field.

HELP OF THE ARMY

The demands made on the health services were so great and so urgent that a complete breakdown might have occurred unless help were forthcoming immediately and the Viceroy requested the Commander-in-Chief to second military hospitals to the area. Eight deputy directors of hygiene were appointed and 52 junior officers of the I A M C were given training in preventive work and appointed as sub-divisional health officers. Many of these young officers had to work for months on end in isolated and disease-stricken areas, often with public opinion against them. Some were set upon and beaten by mobs, and some went down with malaria.

In order to combat the wholesale outbreak of epidemic cholera and smallpox a mass inoculation and vaccination campaign was organized with a target of 8 000 000 vaccinations and inoculations in three months.

The public feared the inoculations and Japanese propaganda was not slow to exploit the situation. When a team arrived in a village after perhaps two hours

tramping in the sun carrying their equipment, the village would be found empty of inhabitants and much time and energy had to be spent in winning local confidence before any mass preventive measures could be undertaken. It became obvious that the target of 8,000,000 protected people could not be obtained in the time with the resources available and medical students from Calcutta were asked to volunteer for the work.

These young men were organized into teams, working as mobile treatment centres, and so successful was the combined effort that in three months 10 000 000 people were protected and by the end of a seven-months campaign 17,000 000 people were protected against cholera and 30,000,000 against smallpox. The hospitals were quickly filled. Hunger, despair and the extremity of suffering soon broke down the antipathy of the simple villager to hospital treatment. Anglo-Indian and Indian nurses in the military hospitals rose to the occasion and trained local village women and boys as ward attendants. The beds were provided with mattresses, sheets, pillows and mosquito nets, and for the first time in rural Bengal the public turned freely to hospitals for treatment.

If the famine leaves behind it a public willing for good preventive and curative medicine and a Government ready to supply it, the suffering and loss will not have been entirely in vain.

SOME OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS

After ten years surgical experience in one of the most advanced Indian States it came as rather a shock to find how appallingly backward medicine, surgery and public health matters were in a part of India for whose welfare the Empire is still responsible. No doubt there are other parts of India as backward, certainly there are other parts much better but, taken all round, the question of medical service in rural India remains a problem and a challenge which must be met so long as India is a part of our Empire.

The reasons for this state of affairs are not simply to be found in questions of expense, lack of doctors and difficulties of communications though these factors all operate against a solution. There are certain fundamental obstacles inherent in the very life and structure of India itself.

(1) There is the difficulty of getting a sufficient number of Indian girls to train in the profession of nursing. Family and religious traditions frown on such a departure from the proprieties.

(2) The reluctance of the common people to receive new ideas and to change the way of life which has obtained for centuries, particularly if that change is imposed from without, and emanates from a source from which come taxes, policemen and other encumbrances of village life.

(3) There is the difficulty of getting highly trained and well-educated medical men to segregate themselves in lonely districts among backward people, and deprive themselves of social life and educational facilities for their families.

Until some answers can be found to these three problems the best planned scheme of medical development, backed by unlimited funds, is bound to fail. A few personal observations made during twelve years' work in different parts of India may shed some light on the situation.

(1) *Nursing*—In twenty years in rural Indian hospitals the only women available for training as nurses were middle-aged widows, the counterpart of Sarah Gamp in England. Of more recent years several hospitals, notably the larger mission institutions, have flouted tradition by training young, unmarried girls as nurses. Even so they have only been available for work in the women's wards. Young men had to be trained as nursing orderlies in the men's wards.

Today so fast are things changing that these same young women are to be found as nursing sisters in military hospitals, controlling wards of 36 Punjabis and Gurkha soldiers, and directing the work of I.A.M.C. orderlies. The Indian Nursing Council sets an examination standard comparable to that in England. More girls must be given the opportunities to train, as their services are urgently required in child-welfare work, as sisters in hospitals and as sister tutors, to train and develop the profession all over India.

(2) *Village Traditions*—The entrenched conservatism of village populations can be invaded not by a direct assault, but by fifth column activity from within. Again and again in the inoculation campaign during the famine, when the representatives of the Government were blocked in their efforts or even received with hostility, a couple of smiling young Bengali medical students, living among the people, mixing with them and getting to know them, would effect a complete change of attitude, and enlist co-operation and goodwill.

So many of the changes that must come in village life affect the very root and core of tradition that these changes must be initiated and led by medical men who spring from these very traditions themselves.

One has seen amazing developments in village communities, but always there has been strong indigenous leadership. One house-surgeon under me was asked what career he intended to follow. Instead of a consulting practice in the town he elected to return to live and work among the village community from which he had sprung. Such a life cannot but influence and develop the community.

LEADERSHIP

(3) *The Finding and Training of Sustainable Leadership*—This again is a matter for delicate and skilled handling. Attempts have been made in India to provide medical men for the villages by having two standards of medical education: (1) The university graduate who enters private practice in the towns and cities or the higher ranks of Government service; and (2) a lower standard recruiting a poorer quality of candidate and giving him a shorter training.

Many of these licentiates have done remarkably well, especially when working in association with senior and better qualified colleagues, but the work in the villages involves much more than general practice. It demands qualities of personality and leadership: the gift for propaganda and the capacity to persuade people to change the habits of centuries in relation to diet and sanitation. At the same time he must have a mind trained for research based on direct observation of the life and habits of the community. A tall order for a young doctor, perhaps, but not impossible. For such a career the best education, not the minimum, is required.

There are Indian doctors living that sort of life and doing that sort of work. They are too few, and have too little backing. How can the right type of man be attracted to such a field of service? The offer of high pay will not bring him forward—only those with a spirit of service with vision and devotion, will stick it and make good. They require special training to fit them for the task. A training of high academic standard, with emphasis on preventive work and opportunities for a practical training during their student days.

Above all, having selected the candidates for training because of their idealism, the environment during the student years must be such as will stimulate this spirit of service. Such an environment may be found in the Christian Medical College to be described by one of the other speakers today. Such a college must be staffed by professors who have, in addition to the highest qualifications, this same spirit of service, and a willingness to sacrifice material gain.

The contribution of a Christian Medical College for India would not only help dispel the ignorance and suffering of village life, but would be a gesture from the West, appreciated and understood by all.

II

MEDICAL MISSIONS

By HOWARD SOMERVELL, M.A., F.R.C.S.

THE shortage of qualified doctors in India to which reference has been made is gradually being relieved by a great increase in the medical education that is occurring, and is proposed by Government medical colleges. But considering the immense size of India the number of colleges is still, and will continue to be, very

small That is one reason for the need of Christian medical colleges. But there are far more important considerations

There is, quite rightly, nowadays a tendency to devolve more and more responsibility in mission and other Christian institutions on Indian leadership The existing mission hospitals will require an ever increasing staff of fully qualified Indian medical men and women

It is very probable that admission to medical colleges will in future be largely on a communal basis This means that, as Christians only constitute about 2 per cent. of the population of India, it will be next to impossible for Christians to gain admission to medical colleges in proportion to the numbers who apply One of the chief works of missions in India is education and a very high proportion of Christians are educated, in some parts higher than in any other class of the whole community Indian Christian boys seek admission to medical colleges to the extent of far more than the 2 per cent which represents the strength of the Christian community

THE WAR AND MISSIONARY EFFORT

For the Christian missionary enterprise this war has been a terrible disaster in that it has convinced many Hindus and others that, seeing that the so-called Christian nations are the ones engaged in warfare India should avoid Christianity as likely to lead her into war At a meeting called to bid farewell to me recently on my retirement from twenty two years service in India one of the speakers said that, While we are very grateful to our doctor for his philanthropic work we must realize that we do not all share this opinion of his religious activities Christianity means war and if India accepts Christianity it will involve her in these wars which are so characteristic of the Christian nations nowadays

Another event of recent history still further increases the suspicion that of late has attached itself to the Christian missionary This is the imprisonment without trial of so many of the political leaders of India In my opinion the Government was quite right to send these men to gaol at the time they did so But neither the ordinary man in the village in India nor I myself can see that the continued incarceration of these people is anything but a sin and a blot on the fair name of Britain Whether that view is right or no it is a fact that the blame which attaches to Britain for this action is reflected by the Indians as a whole on to the religion which Indians associate with Britain There has recently sprung up a deep and widespread resentment on the part of many Indians with Christianity Medical missions remain the chief branch of Christian activity which is still accepted by the people with open arms and which is free from this feeling of resentment Together with the running of village industries and with some parts of the educational work medical mission work is nowadays the main Christian enterprise that is not viewed with suspicion

LOW STANDARDS

Good as is the teaching in many of the medical colleges run by the Government, there is a regrettable standard of medical ethics all too often practised by doctors and nurses etc, on the staffs of these institutions The tendency of doctors to look at their patients simply from the money making point of view leads some of them to exploit their patients in various ways, which acts as a very bad example to the budding doctors under their care, whose ideals are in the formative stage For instance some doctors will lay hold on the wealthier patients for their own wards or even divert them from the wards of other doctors Tips are required for nursing services such as one anna for a drink of water, two annas for a bedpan which I know to be the rule in several leading hospitals, and some form of which I have been told is almost universal in India Both doctors and nurses in some hospitals have the reputation of treating patients who don't pay them something on the side with disfavour There is therefore a supreme need of a medical college—several if possible—run by a Christian staff, who will make it part of their teaching, as well as their outlook, to consider all patients alike as a trust from God and to do their best indiscriminately for all in His name Only the ethics of Jesus Christ, broadcast all over India by being practised here and there by men and women who have been educated

at a Christian medical college, can hope to raise the standard of medical ethics in this immense country

On these four counts, of which I put the last one first in order of importance, it is very necessary to have in India at least one medical college which is Christian in its methods and teaching, and which is open to all classes but which gives some preferential treatment as regards admissions to Christian students. I consider this question the most urgent of all missionary needs in India at the present time

MEDICAL SCHOOLS

There have been hitherto several medical schools in India which give training up to the standard of sub-assistant surgeons. This is a standard which represents one year less at the medical school or hospital and a lower educational standard for admission than that of an M.B. The resulting doctor is in my opinion a very useful person, and eminently suitable for many of the jobs available for doctors in India especially in the country districts. But most of the Provincial Governments in India have recently declared that in future there will be no such qualifications given and the minimum standard for a doctor in future will be the M.B., B.S. degree of an Indian University.

The medical schools now existing have therefore only two alternatives open to them: either to close down or to expand both staff buildings and work to attain a higher standard so that the Government will recognize them as fitted to train students for the M.B. degree. It would be an ideal thing if all the existing medical schools at present run under Christian auspices could expand in this way still better perhaps would be the building and staffing of an entirely new medical college at some big centre of population such as Alahabad. But the cost of these schemes is very large especially if it is to include endowment. So the Christian Medical Association which represents the opinion of medical missionaries of all denominations from all over India as well as that of leading Indian Christian doctors in Government or private jobs has decided as the most practicable and the minimum desirable measure to expand one of the existing medical schools that hitherto has been for women only at Vellore into a college capable of giving the full M.B., B.S. training to students of both sexes. Dr. McGilvray will give you more detailed information about this scheme. In the meantime may I repeat that I consider that the scheme as at present envisaged represents the absolute minimum that Christian England ought to do at this critical hour of India's history. The starting and financing of this scheme is I believe a debt which Britain owes to India a country which has in the past done such a lot for the trade and prosperity of Britain.

III

THE VELLORE COLLEGE TRAINING PLAN

BY THE REV. J. C. MCGILVRAY, B.A.
(Bursar of the Vellore Christian Medical College)

THERE IS in India today an increasing recognition of the necessity of providing adequate health facilities for the peoples of that land. Health is a basic human right. This must be accepted as an axiom in any scheme which aims at promoting the welfare, social and economic uplift of a people. At present the most serious handicap to any scheme for the promotion of health lies in the dearth of trained medical personnel. For a population of nearly 400,000,000 there are 42,000 doctors, many of whom are licensed medical practitioners and have not received the benefit of a University grade medical education. Thus there is one doctor for every 10,000 persons as compared with a ratio of one doctor to every 1,000 obtaining in Britain and America. There is one nurse for every 56,000 persons in India today. There are only 75 fully qualified pharmacists or one for every 3,000,000 of the population. Now do these statistics alone provide a true picture of India's needs, for most of the doctors and nurses are to be found in the cities and towns where so few of her people live.

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The health needs of India's villages are usually left to the Public Health officer who is provided with a totally inadequate staff

The contribution of medical missions to the medical aid and health of India is far and away beyond any basis of comparison indicated by the proportion of Christians to the other communities. They have established more than 350 hospitals and sanatoria and more than 600 dispensaries at which 7 000 000 treatments are given annually. In their 62 leprosy sanatoria they do the major share of the treatment of that disease. They provide one third of all the beds available for the treatment of tuberculosis. More than 75 per cent. of India's nurses are Christians.

And what of the future? Christian enterprise in medical work has always been determined by two main considerations. Firstly its belief that in medicine it has a distinctive contribution to make through an adequate appreciation of the human being and not only of the human body. Secondly, it must be ready to give where there is the greatest need. For some years the Christian Medical Association of India has believed that its greatest contribution would be in the establishment of a University grade medical training centre which would be thoroughly Christian and of the highest professional order. The aim is not merely to reproduce the functions of a normal Government medical school, but rather to specialize along certain lines of development which need emphasis in India today.

A beginning was made in 1942 at Vellore,* about 90 miles west of Madras using as a foundation the excellent lower grade medical school which had already established a reputation for its scholarship. Several new buildings have to be constructed and the main hospital enlarged to accommodate 650 patients. At present there is accommodation for 400. The primary requirement in any medical school is to have a first-class faculty, and Vellore has been fortunate in attracting several doctors with the highest professional qualifications and one of whom has already an international reputation in his own speciality. There are more to be found. As part of their planning the school authorities are laying special emphasis upon the following lines of development with anticipation that each will make a special contribution to medical services in India and beyond.

RURAL UNITS

There is to be established a chair of Rural Health. Vellore is situated in the midst of a large rural area, and its rural dispensary and roadside medical services have become well known. These services are now being developed still further and co-ordinated with rural medical units. Such a unit concentrates on a group of villages and brings to them an adequate medical, social and preventive programme. Here lies one of the greatest needs in India today and it is hoped that Vellore's programme may become a model which will be used widely in that land. Medical students and nurses will be required to spend a period of study in these rural units and we hope that thereby some of them will be led to serve in villages. An emphasis here on tropical diseases and public health will do much to remove that strange anomaly of Western medicine as taught in India today. For these diseases which make up so much of the daily work of an Indian doctor are now reserved for post graduate study and diplomas.

OTHER PLANS

The study and treatment of leprosy is one of the most important developments which has an intrinsic part in this medical training scheme. The Mission to Lepers and the American Mission to Lepers are co-operating in this work. Within twenty miles of Vellore is an area with what is believed to be the highest recorded incidence of this disease. It is planned to develop a sanatorium concentrating on research and a detailed study of the disease, an infirmary with special emphasis upon rehabilitation, children's work and survey units.

Psychiatry is one of the specialties for which at present there is no teaching centre

* A beginning was made at Ludhiana in 1938 when the Christian Medical School there was affiliated to the Punjab University. Owing to war conditions full affiliation has been postponed.—[Editor.]

in India. As soon as building materials are made available a psychiatric teaching clinic with observation wards is to be constructed. It is hoped later to establish a hospital for the care and treatment of mental cases on a larger scale.

For many years Vellore has maintained one of the finest nursing schools in India. Its insistence on high standards has not only led to excellent results, but has also done much to improve the status of the nursing profession in India. There is a post-graduate school for nurses with hospital experience where they are trained as sister tutors and for administrative posts, which have been held previously only by European sisters. In July 1946 this school may be affiliated to the University of Madras which will award a degree of BSc in nursing after four years instruction. Post-graduate courses will be given in public health nursing, teaching and supervision and administration in schools of nursing and in public health, also in midwifery and teaching in midwifery.

RESEARCH

The study and teaching of tuberculosis will be given in the sanatorium at Arogyavaram which is one of the finest institutions of its kind, and offers unrivalled facilities for teaching. It is a truism today that medical education must be conducted in an atmosphere of research. No school can maintain a standard of high efficiency unless its staff is not only encouraged but required to undertake research. Here again is a contribution which Vellore will make. It will seek to serve India not only through the training of doctors and nurses but also in the training of teachers which is an even more pressing need. It has been suggested that the Government of India will establish many more medical schools at the close of the present hostilities. It is the faculty which makes a medical school—not the buildings, nor the equipment.

And how is this development at Vellore being made possible? It is through the co-operation of thirty-eight missionary societies representing churches in Britain, the United States, Canada, Sweden, Denmark and Australia. Excellent support has come from friends in India too. It is indeed a unique contribution to the people of India.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPERS

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Tuesday, June 19, 1945, at the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, with Sir GEOFFREY BRACKEN presiding. Lord Erskine, who had promised to take the Chair, was represented by Lady MARJORIE ERSKINE. In opening the meeting she said that the speakers came from South India where she and Lord Erskine spent five and a half years. Lord Erskine was very busy in his part of the country owing to the General Election and could not be present. Sir Geoffrey Bracken was taking his place and she would ask him to preside.

Sir GEOFFREY BRACKEN said that the three speakers were all connected with India. Lieut.-Colonel Orr had worked for a long time in Travancore and Mr Howard Somervell had also been connected with Travancore and the Rev J. C. McGilvray was Bursar of the Vellore Medical School. Their work in medical research in South India was well known. Mr Somervell was also interested in mountaineering and as they knew had tackled Mount Everest.

After the reading of the papers the CHAIRMAN said that the only point he would make was that political developments, especially those of the last week, were bound to affect the whole problem very much and it seemed to him that the function of the Christian Medical Colleges in future would be not to take the lead but to set a standard which the Governments and Provinces might follow.

Dr C. CHESTERMAN (Medical Secretary, Baptist Missionary Society) thanked the Association for giving this opportunity of setting forth the needs and one of the

solutions to India's medical problems. It was easy to feel one was an intruder in India sometimes one was made to feel it by others but it had been pointed out that the medical mission nurses and doctors need not feel it. In the few months which he spent in India before the war he made an effort to try to ascertain Indian opinions as to the continuation of medical missions. He suggested to one Hindu gentleman that the time had come for missionaries to withdraw and give Indian doctors with all their talent and experience an opportunity to run their own medical services. The reply was, You are not right in mission hospitals I have found more compassion and consideration. Compassion was the core of the Christian ethic, and more consideration meant that the patient did not have to pay for everything even having a hot water bottle filled.

When he saw Mr. Gandhi at his Ashram a few years back he talked to him at some length about the medical problems of India. He told him what the Hindu had said and Mr. Gandhi replied that it was a good certificate for medical missions. He added Do not go into the towns you should be the succourers of the villages where doctors are so few. Those words impressed themselves upon him because his own experience had been in Africa in a rural area running a medical mission for 100,000.

He was convinced that the programme set out at Vellore was the right one and he was very glad that the foundations had been laid on which to build. He hoped a similar institution in North India would develop on the same lines.

Dr. ALICE PENNELL (*née* Sorabji) said that her experience in her own country was in the north of India so that she had other opinions than those which had been expressed. There it was not possible to have a college for both men and women at the moment although there was a Government college for training women doctors from every community in India at Delhi as well as the Mission College at Ludhiana. The part that women could play women from other countries and Indian women could not be surpassed and unless the women were interested the position would remain where it was sixty years ago when only men gave treatment. It was important that there should be a better educational standard before people were trained as doctors and she was glad to see that Vellore was giving up the lower standard. The sub-assistant surgeon's training was inadequate they had not a good foundation and they could not have a really good training. The people needed skilled treatment whether they lived in a village or town and there should be a fully trained man or woman in charge of the work. Some of these semi-trained people were unable to recognize serious diseases much less treat them.

Health visitors were needed. The Medical Women's Association of India started the idea of health visitors and now they were being trained in Northern India and they helped the doctors who went to the villages. They lived in the village doing all the extra work which had to be done by people who helped the doctor and bringing health education into the homes of the villagers.

In Northern India there were men and women nurses because of the communal feeling in a Muhammadan country women were not allowed in the men's part of the hospital. Men orderlies were trained who did excellent work and she saw no reason why they should not be used as in the Army to-day. There was no reason why a man should not do as good work as a woman. The men nurses were most sympathetic, kind and understanding.

Ethical standards were most important and in no mission hospital was there ever the difficulty of people wanting to be paid for everything. The doctors and nurses the British and Indian staff, were in real sympathy with the people, they were their friends, they went into their homes and it was only when one had friends amongst the people that they could be treated adequately. Friendship was the basis of all medical treatment, whether it was given by doctors nurses or health visitors.

Sir FREDERICK JAMES said that the only justification for his intervention in the discussion was that he was a member of the Health Survey and Development Committee of the Government of India under Sir Joseph Bore, which was studying the problem of the future development of health services. He was returning shortly to

what he hoped would be the concluding meeting at which the report would receive its final shape. He would ask the speakers their views on one aspect of the expansion of the health services to which his Committee had given considerable attention. The Committee had been impressed by the shortage of personnel and by the difficulties inherent in the rapid expansion of the health services throughout the country. Most valuable evidence had been given by a distinguished Russian surgeon who had said that one of the ways in which the Russians had tackled a similar deficiency was by creating a class of medical assistants who received a training of three years and who were used, under the guidance of qualified medical practitioners, for a great deal of the public health and medical relief work in the villages. They were attached to central hospitals and under the expert guidance and assistance of qualified men. There was a very large number of such persons. He wondered whether that was one of the ways by which for a period this deficiency in the Indian medical services could be met.

He was deeply impressed by the appeal of Mr. Somervell for a great contribution from Christian England to medical relief by way of a demonstration centre and laboratory of experience to be established in Vellore. He knew something about their existing institutions and was sure that the proposals outlined would be widely welcomed in India. The Bhoré Committee foresaw the development of great national public health services. The old administrative distinction between public health and medical relief would go and there would be provincial health services under the central direction of Health Ministries. If these plans materialized there would be a great drive in the direction of bringing all the resources of public health and medical relief to the villages.

This made it all the more necessary that there should be here and there in that great country centres where men were trained in an atmosphere of social service, particularly of Christian social service. Mr. Somervell was correct when he pointed out that buildings alone could not make a medical school. He would add that a Faculty alone could not make a medical school; it was the spirit in which the Faculty worked and that would be found in the new centre. Britain could not give a finer gift to India at this stage in the history of the two countries in which another turning point had been reached. It would strengthen those delicate and sensitive links which bound the two countries together and which he hoped would continue to bind them in the years to come.

Dr. ORISSA TAYLOR thought that the tremendous opportunities open to the girls and men of this country were not realized by people who had time and money and it should be laid upon them to see to it that these unique opportunities could be taken advantage of now. The letters *Ind Imp* first appeared on our coins in 1876 and he often wondered whether they would still be there in 1976. At the moment there were supreme chances of work in India but her greatest need was true friendship. Medical missionary work might be the only form of service which could be rendered and we should give it in such spirit and way that if we had to leave India we should leave something worth while behind. Heal and preach was the mission in India and through these methods the heart of India would be brought to the feet of Him knowledge of whom made all the difference to everyone.

Mr. CHINNA DURAI said that his mind had been working in a different way from that of the three speakers, and he wondered in view of the shortage of doctors, medical schools, medical colleges and medical missions how best the people of India could ease the burden for the doctors and others. He remembered a Brahmin lady who was ill and a doctor was about to be called in and she asked that it should not be a Christian doctor because He will ask me to drink some soup or prescribe an egg. That sort of thing was still there and other customs were detrimental to health. For instance the joint family system (which meant that people were crowded together under one roof lacking facilities for fresh air and sanitation) or the child marriage system brought about many ills. There was the problem of birth control also. These were the things which could be tackled by legislation, by the people of India and which would greatly ease the burden of the medical world in India.

Mr HOWARD SOMERVELL, in reply to the discussion, said in response to Mr Chinna Durai's intelligent suggestion that the Hindu family system, child marriages and birth control were three things which should be tackled, that the doing of this would engender great difficulties, because it was very hard to make any Indian modify his customs. Above all nations in the world India was the slave of custom. It would be difficult to make them even modify the family system on which the social life of India was built. Indians in their families showed a touching and delightful loyalty to each other which however sometimes led to very large households with an altogether inadequate cubic space for each individual. Several not very successful attempts had been made to make child marriages illegal in his own part of India Travancore, but gradually a public opinion was being formed which was much more effective than legislation. The public health service when he went to Travancore in 1922 was bad, but since then it had improved so much that it was now very much better than in most parts of India. Anti-filarial and anti-malarial work had made a very good beginning and had real experts at the head.

The nature of public health work varied tremendously from country to country and district to district, owing to the climate, diet, and other conditions. In Travancore it was fertile, and not very far away in the Deccan it was dry and arid. In the Punjab the people had one of the finest diets in the world because things were in the right proportion. The rice famine in India might in the end prove to have been very beneficial. When the supply of rice was stopped from Burma there were distressing conditions which were adjusted after a few months by the importation of millet and wheat into the rice-eating countries, and this meant the improvement of the vitamin A deficient diet. He hoped that as a result of the war the diet of Southern India and other rice-eating parts would be more varied and healthy. This would do a great deal to ease the task of the doctors in the country districts.

It was a tragedy that 90 per cent of doctors were in the towns where only 10 or 11 per cent. of the inhabitants lived, the more highly qualified doctors would hardly ever go into the country districts. He hoped that when Vellore got going it would make the rural bias a very strong point. He personally felt very privileged to have had the opportunity of giving twenty-two years service entirely in a village district in India far away from big towns. The population in the village districts was often very large in fertile areas. He believed that in several parts of India there were districts with half a million people who had no qualified doctor at all that was certainly the case a few years ago.

He agreed very much with the remarks regarding the necessity for male nurses. In his own hospital the male patients were nursed by males and females nursed by women nurses. When the war began the Army were only too thankful to find that there were a certain number of trained male nurses in India and by far the greater number of the fully trained male nurses in the I.A.M.C. to-day came from mission hospitals. Indian young men often make extremely good nurses they were usually said by the patients to be more gentle than the women nurses. This was probably because, being stronger, they were able to lift the patients without undue exertion. The men were more ready to take on real responsibility and were not always bound by routine, as the Indian women were so apt to be. Boys and girls of good education (matriculates) are now taking nursing as a profession.

He felt strongly that the right line was being followed at Vellore the development of a medical school for men and women was a crying need and something which we should do for India. He hoped the members would try to persuade their friends to take an interest in the scheme, which was meeting with great support but was in difficulties with regard to funds. It was largely a venture of faith, and must have the backing of the Indian loving public behind it.

Mr HAROLD HOOD proposed a cordial vote of thanks to the speakers and to Sir Geoffrey Bracken. He had listened to the papers with particular interest because he spent many happy years in Southern India and some time in Travancore. Later still he became honorary treasurer of a hospital at Karachi, and found great interest in the work.

THE BRITISH IN INDIA THEIR PRESENT AND THEIR FUTURE

By C P LAWSON, M L A (CENTRAL)

(President of the European Association Calcutta)

I AM here today to talk to you about my own folks in India, not so much about the Services, military and civil that have done such magnificent work in administering the country in the past century but about the non-official the box-wallah, if you will who was there long before Britain undertook the administration of the country and whose history dates back to the year 1600 when Queen Elizabeth granted the first charter to the East India Company. We are a small community and as I will presently show the activities of the Nazis both in the West and in the East have made us smaller, but there is much in our history of which we are justly proud and the last six years have added a page which fully justifies that pride.

Our publicity is poor and for some reason or other, ever since the days of Clive and Hastings, it has been the custom, in certain newspapers and on certain platforms to give publicity more to those statements true or untrue which are likely to discredit us than to those which do us credit. This is an attitude of mind which I have never been able to understand. A professional cricketer in India with an M.C.C. team has only to be seen entering a dressing-room separate from that of the amateurs and whatever the English custom is elsewhere there will be headlines in certain British papers. Snobbery in India.

Let me give you another instance. In May 1943 Mrs Portal addressed you regarding Individual Responsibility in India. It was a thoughtful address if based more upon theory than upon wide experience, but in the course of it she said regarding our folks in India that a diet of polo, mah jong and bridge is not very nourishing to ideas. This excerpt was used fully by the news agencies and was published all over India. I saw no mention either in the British or Indian press of Mrs Portal's earlier remarks on the other side, which included the following: "I have profound veneration for the magnificent administration given by us to India for the justice and prosperity conferred by the Pax Britannica. I believe in the integrity of all those great Britons who from Lord Lawrence onwards have made it clear that they are working for India's ultimate self-government." Mrs Portal's later strictures presumably applied to a certain minority with which she unfortunately came in contact but it is easy to see which statement commended itself to publicity. Two speeches made recently by members of the House of Lords regarding the war effort of British women in India have been similarly used. I will shortly show how misinformed the speakers were but the fact that they had bothered to approach none of our organizations for information or figures did not impede the publication of derogatory and misleading statements. I would ask all those who make statements or write about India to bear all this in mind, and I will now place before you certain facts.

NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEANS

Of the total British in India before the war roughly 30 per cent. were in trade, industry and commerce 10 per cent. belonged to what the Census Report describes as the professions and liberal arts and 7 to 8 per cent. were planters. This non-official community has been treated as a minority under the Indian Constitution since of course, the Services are not permitted to take part in politics or to represent their community in the Legislatures. We have 68 British members in the Provincial Legislatures and 12 in the Central Legislature. In each political advance towards self-government in the last thirty years the British community has done its best to make each step a success. The Simon Commission in 1930 reported as follows: "The numbers of Europeans in India are no fair measure of the contribution they make to the country or to the influence they exercise. One of the best features of the operation of the reforms is the way in which European business men of standing and experience

have contributed to the public life of the country by their membership of the Legislatures.

The community has been in the forefront of Indian economic development for the past century. A vast system of irrigation and over 45,000 miles of railways have been built in the main by British engineers frequently with British capital. The major ports owe much of their present size and efficiency to Port Trusts which raised their capital in Britain and until recently were predominantly British in management and control. The great industries of tea, jute, coal and banking owe their existence to the pioneering skill of British business men who have opened up the resources of the country and supplied employment for the people and taxation for the State. Fifty years ago only 800 factories were registered under the Indian Factories Act, today there are more than 10,000. Indians have now entered these fields, and many concerns once purely British in management and financial control now represent a high degree of Indo-British co-operation. We must also not underestimate the magnificent work done by generations of faithful missionaries from Britain whose influence has been widespread and beneficial.

BRITISH ENLISTMENT

This is but a short, inadequate picture of the background. I am anxious to tell you something of the more recent years, records of which cannot be found in reference books or histories. As early as 1938, after Munich, the European community in India realized fully that a serious outbreak of war was a present possibility, and at the council meeting of the European Association held at the end of that year it was decided to prepare lists of the male members of the community and to classify them in age groups and occupations so that as far as possible the obligations to military service should be equally distributed over the whole community. The Association had no doubts regarding the voluntary response which the community would make to a call for recruitment, but it was felt that some organization was necessary to avoid the inequalities both to industrial and commercial concerns and to individuals, which had occurred during the war of 1914-18. In collaboration with the constituent Chambers comprising the membership of the Associated Chambers, some progress was made in the preparation of these lists during the early part of 1939, but when war became a certainty it was felt that a statutory background was necessary for the enforcement of the arrangements which the community clearly desired to come into force. The leaders of the community therefore approached the authorities and in due course a National Service (European British Subjects) Ordinance was promulgated, and this in due course was followed by the National Service (European British Subjects) Act of 1940, which was passed by the Central Legislature in April of that year.

Before conscription came into force many British firms had already released considerable numbers of younger men for voluntary enlistment in the Services, either in India or in the U.K., and when conscription was applied to all male European British subjects between the ages of 18 and 50 every man who could possibly be spared was called up first in age groups and then for specialized purposes irrespective of age. Most firms were left with a bare minimum staff with no leave or casualty margin. The calling up was carried out by the competent military authority in each military district, but each such authority worked in consultation with a National Service Advisory Committee established under the Act and composed of local representatives of European non-official organizations. These NSACs applied to all European concerns one strict criterion—namely that each concern should be left only with the minimum European staff necessary for maintaining the business as such. All European concerns were thus reduced to the absolute minimum of European staff necessary for maintaining war production and for keeping their concerns alive.

A HEAVY STRAIN

With the extension of the war to the Far East the complexity and output of most British concerns have multiplied. Some of these are 100 per cent. on war production. This has greatly increased the strain upon those who are left, most of them being

over combatant age, and in many cases well over 50 years of age. In addition to their ordinary duties these men have also been and still are engaged, in any spare time they may have, on work in connection with civil defence auxiliary forces, special police, welfare for troops, etc.

Official figures now show that nearly 58 per cent. of our pre-war man-power has been taken into the Services, but this does not represent the full measure of the strain. During six years of war there have inevitably been many casualties on account of death ill-health and compulsory retirement from a tropical country through age. A survey recently carried out reveals this latter wastage to have been 14 per cent. of our pre-war strength. So we are now in the position of facing the future with our man-power reduced by over 72 per cent. This is a war sacrifice which the British in India carry alone amongst the Indian communities. We alone are subject to compulsory service at our own request. In the U.K., or in Canada or Australia man-power is short, but at least everyone suffers equally. We are not complaining—indeed we are proud of our part—but it is well that these facts should be known amongst those who may think that we in India have spent an easy time far away from the Blitz and from the discomforts of war time Britain. We make no claim to be super men we have our drones like every other community all over the world but this I claim that we have marched with our folks in this country to the extent that our numbers permit and have borne with them the heat (certainly the heat) and burden of the day.

THE BRITISH WOMAN

Now let me deal with the war effort of our women—and here I must place on record how much we resent the continual sniping that appears from time to time in certain organs of the British press. The trouble is largely due to misunderstanding. Some of the British troops now in India seem to think that female companionship should be as easy to come by as it is in Britain. As a bachelor of some years standing I may assure them that this is not the case. In the whole of India only 14,300 women between 18-50 were registered under last year's Ordinance and even this figure is an over-estimate. 2,200 European British women have joined the W.A.C.F.s and 9,224 are doing war work of some kind or another. Only 2,255 have not undertaken any war work without showing any reason for not doing so. But I would point out that these figures pay no regard to women with young children who in this country are exempted from National Service. I may add that in certain up-country districts notably in Assam servants are now unobtainable and many women are now doing the housework and cooking. Amongst my personal friends I do not know a single woman who is not doing something and when I see our womenfolk working in canteens on stations and elsewhere in temperatures up to 120 degrees I wish that some of those who criticize might come and do a four hour shift.

I know personally of three voluntary organizations mainly run by our women which together turn over £20,000 annually for troop amenities. These are only three of many, and all the money is voluntarily subscribed. I know several women whose health has broken down as a result of this work and while I have avoided all mention of climatic conditions, it must be admitted that these are always present, and are to certain women a source of constant ill-health. Again I do not claim 100 per cent. heroines, but perhaps if these facts were known there would be less sniping. Here I cannot do better than quote an extract from the communiqué issued by the Government of India. "This shows that European British women as a class have already made a substantial contribution to the war effort and welfare of the fighting forces. The Government of India and H.E. the C-in-C on behalf of the Forces wish to place on record their appreciation of the excellent work done by large numbers of women who are devoting their time and energy to voluntary service."

A FAIR FIELD

And now of the future. The community to which I belong has assisted in every step towards Indian self government, and we hope still to play our part when the goal is realized. We have contributed largely to the economic and social development

of India, and we have earned the right to continue to live and work there without discrimination. A fair field and no favour is all that we ask, and we desire no special treatment that an Indian in Great Britain could not expect. The fact that this war has reduced our numbers so seriously already prejudices the fair field to which history entitles us. If I call attention to this fact it is not because we wish to swamp Indian industry—indeed we could not do so now even if we held such an intention—but because I believe that the future of India will best be served by a continuation and strengthening of her association with Great Britain on terms of equal partnership. My community in India will be a link that will help to bind the two countries together, and the stronger the link the better for all concerned. There may be some in India or elsewhere who will take a cynical view of this belief of mine, and nationalist emotion is apt to obscure the fact that our personal relations with Indians are cordial and based on long association. But when the tumult and the shouting have died I think it will be found that such animus as now exists has died also, and I look forward to a future free of the political hates that have frequently obscured the benefits of mutual co-operation.

I do not believe that history can of itself be eliminated by a stroke of the pen or even by an Act of Parliament. India has a Constitution which marches forward on the lines of British democratic principles. Her excellent judiciary has been built up upon a British pattern. Her magnificent Army has been trained up to the most modern pitch by British officers and by British methods. The language most generally understood by literates is English indeed if in the Central Assembly in Delhi any speaker were to address the House in any Indian language a large portion of his listeners would not be able to understand him. I could name many other factors which should bind the two countries together for all time, but in practice it will be goodwill that will decide the issue.

In her present state of development India cannot do without assistance from abroad and Britain must be ready to give that assistance and to help India in her forward march. This is no time, either in India or Great Britain to take the short view. The effect of the present war may last for years and artificial conditions will upset the most balanced economies. But when normal conditions return it will I think be found that the best economic balance for both countries will be achieved by the closest possible association. India will need Great Britain as much as Great Britain will need India, and it is to the realization of this goal that we should bend our best endeavours.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Rooms of the Royal Society Burlington House Piccadilly W 1, on Friday July 27 1945 when Mr C P Lawson read a paper on *The British in India Their Present and their Future*. The chair was taken by Sir KENNETH MEALING.

In introducing the reader of the paper the CHAIRMAN said that Mr Charles Lawson had been a personal friend of his for many years and he was in a position to testify to the time and thought that he had given to the affairs of the British community in India for a long time past. Mr Lawson had held the position of President of the European Association in India for the past five years. He was also a sitting member in the Central Assembly at Delhi. These positions had undoubtedly made him one of the most knowledgeable men in Indian public life both concerning the many problems of the European community and of India as a whole. His cheerful personality had endeared him to all classes and castes.

Mr C. P. Lawson then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN said that the British community in India had, of course, not been required to undergo the agonies and terrors which England had endured during the past six years, nor to bear the restrictions and privations which had been so cheerfully accepted at home. Against this must be set the fact that they had missed that great and uplifting spirit of unity and camaraderie which England experienced in the dark days of the war. Moreover they well knew that if England fell it was also the end for them, and after Japan came into the war they in India might still fall as our kith and kin had fallen in Shanghai, Hongkong, Singapore, and Burma. In the first half of 1942 this was indeed a real possibility, so they were not without grave anxiety and as Mr. Lawson had so clearly stated they had experienced a considerable degree of overwork and harassment which the burden of the war rendered unavoidable. There were not many communities without a few black sheep. In India the spotlight was rather focused upon the doings of the European and the actions of a single black sheep when publicized became magnified to the detriment of his whole community. This might be unfair and might be peculiar to India but he believed it to be a fact, and it might be that what they had heard from Mr. Lawson that after noon would help to put some of these matters into a truer and better perspective.

In inviting Mr. Amery to address the meeting the CHAIRMAN (speaking on the morrow of the results of the General Election) said that the House of Commons would be the poorer for the departure of this great parliamentary figure. In the storm and stress of the great Indian problem it was not given to any man to find an easy solution of what must not be allowed to be an insoluble problem but they knew that Mr. Amery had made a strong and sincere effort to help to lead India on to that future which they all desired for that great country.

The Right Hon. L. S. AMERY, who was greeted with prolonged applause said that they were greatly indebted to Mr. Lawson for a paper as wise and broadminded in its general outlook as it was shrewd and humorous in its defence of the great British community in India. That community had played its part in the life of India for the good of India as well as of British trade for something like 150 years before British administration spread out from its original nucleus of the East India Company to cover the whole of that great continent with its network. Through the subsequent 200 years also as Mr. Lawson had reminded them, the British unofficial community continued side by side with the official community to play its part in the development of India and to create the India of today from the India of the seventeenth century. Certainly whatever tribute was paid in the quotations which Mr. Lawson had read should in all fairness be shared equally between the British official world and the British unofficial world both of which, in co-operation with India's own people, had played their part in this history. In more recent years as Mr. Lawson had again reminded them that community had played a great part in the present struggle. It was the only community he knew of in the Empire which submitted to compulsory military service at its own special request, and did so under circumstances of strain almost unexampled in any other community in the Empire. They had been left with a mere skeleton mostly of older men to struggle on for six years under difficult climatic conditions carrying an ever added burden of work while the younger men were playing their part in the Forces or serving the Government of India in various technical respects.

He was glad that Mr. Lawson had spoken a forthright word in defence of European women in India. In this country we accepted as a familiar fact the wonderful work done by the great majority of women and overlooked the exceptions, but in the case of India undue stress was laid upon the very few who for one reason or another did not—or in other cases could not—help in the self-forgetting work of the great majority.

Mr. Lawson had also said a useful word about the part which the European business community with its traditions of political life in this country had played in the legislatures of India for the last 25 years. It had been work done with a genuine desire to help self-government forward in India. It had been done readily and in a spirit of whole-hearted sympathy with Indian aspirations. It was that spirit which would ensure the continued life of the British community in India and the continued

service which it could render to India, and it was because of that spirit of goodwill, of desire to help India forward to the fullest attainment of the ambitions which we shared with her that he believed there would still be a valuable place for that community in the political and certainly in the economic life of India. They were true representatives of the spirit of this country, for this country wished India to take her rightful place as one of the great nations, not only of the British Commonwealth but of the wider family of nations.

As Britushers they felt it to be wrong that India should not be regarded as at least the equal of that other great Asiatic nation—China—in her place in the world and in the influence which she exercised upon the world both in herself and through the sources of strength which she could derive from partnership in the Commonwealth.

This is, I imagine, as it happens, Mr Amery concluded the last occasion on which I am likely to address any public audience as Secretary of State for India. Five years of very interesting occasionally disappointing, but never really discouraging work lie behind me. I have no doubt that the work will be carried on in the same spirit, with the same goodwill by my successor, whoever he may be, and that Lord Wavell will receive from the Government the same support in his sincere and unwearying efforts to find a solution temporary it may be, or more permanent, whereby a great India will be brought towards her goal free in herself honoured among the nations honoured also in the more intimate partnership of the British Commonwealth.

Mr A. E. Foot (the Doon School Dehra Dun) endorsed what Mr Lawson had said about the war effort of British men and women in India. One difficulty which Mr Lawson had not mentioned and which might be overlooked was that so far as entertainment was concerned for British people who were visiting India in the Services, the cost of living in India had multiplied by about three and a half times whereas in England it had not multiplied by anything like that factor. Not only that, but the difficulty of getting the sort of provisions which hospitality demanded was a great one to be considered in the actual entertainment of people from overseas. But there was a much more important reason for what looked like an inhospitable reception. When American soldiers came to England they expected and received entertainment from the English people. But in India the absence of social contact and sympathy and understanding between the British and the Indian educated upper middle class was the cause of a certain feeling of dissatisfaction among people visiting India for the first time as they were not welcomed by Indians. This absence of social contact did not apply to those who had taken a very active part in political life in municipal life, and in such organizations as rotary clubs and Service associations throughout India, but there was or had been a very high percentage of Europeans living in India whose life there had been in a compartment quite separate from the people of the country. If in the past the Europeans living in India had felt it their primary purpose to become acclimatized to the social cultural and intellectual life of the people in the country in which they were living, there would have been created a deep and lasting friendship with Indians.

He believed the lesson to be learned from this—nothing very much could change the present situation—was that for the future it must be very clearly understood by those people who went out to India to earn their living there that their first thought must be that they would not be serving their business or other interests properly unless they made themselves really acceptable to the Indian people of the same class as that to which they themselves belonged. He believed that there was a clear understanding of that now amongst the firms who were engaging people to go out to India and if their success or failure was judged by the number and sincerity of their Indian friendships, then such circumstances as existed at present would not exist in the future.

Mr W. W. Woon (Principal of Delhi Polytechnic) said that as an architect and engineer he addressed the meeting as one of the 10 per cent. of representatives of what Mr Lawson had called the professions and liberal arts. In that capacity he wanted to confine himself to an aspect of their relationship with India which had

perhaps not been stressed as it might have been. India was going ahead with a wonderful scheme of industrialization, but was very greatly lacking in technical personnel. He was in this country at the moment concerned in the placing of post graduate students in the educational institutions here for the pursuit of higher technological studies. But there was still a link between the artisan and the executive to forge. He referred to the foreman class, and strongly advocated the provision of more technical high schools from which this class would be recruited. In this process of industrialization this country could help India in no uncertain manner. Young British technologists would find in India a wonderful field if they were prepared to go out there and do pioneer work and take an active part in the social life of the country. He thought that the scientist and technologist was beginning to come into his own in India.

He desired to add some support to what Mr Foot had just said. He wanted to see more mixed clubs. In Delhi all their clubs were mixed, both as regards sex and race and were all the better for it.

Mr MICHAEL HIRTZEL said as a member of the European Association how very gratified his fellow members would be when they received in India excerpts from this excellent paper. Certainly at times in India they felt that they were rather a forgotten community. That, of course was inevitable for this nation had a happy habit of forgetting its nationals scattered about in various parts of the world. But he could say that the British community in India were immensely heartened when the late Lord Craigmyle spoke on their behalf in the House of Lords two years ago. He was sure that whatever criticism there might have been all thinking people in their community realized that they had not in any sense forfeited the confidence of bodies such as this during the past five years out in India. It had meant much to them to be out there and to be doing what they felt to be their bit in the sum of things. Mr Lawson had given some detailed facts and figures, but all the same it was difficult for those at home to appreciate the nature of the task. For instance he had the good fortune to work for one of the larger firms in the Inchcape group who had been responsible *inter alia* for operating the river services over the whole of eastern India. That had been an enormous undertaking vitally connected with the war effort on the Burma front. But even in India itself far too little was known, even though it seemed that more could have been disclosed without damage to military interests, and here at home very few appreciated what the river services had contributed from the strategic point of view to the defence of India.

That was one of the instances where the British in India greatly cut down in personnel had been carrying on a vital task. It was the second time in thirty years he supposed that British concerns of that type had been called on to assist military activities. Exactly the same thing happened in Mesopotamia in the last war. The British nation could not afford, however much it might disregard or criticize its nationals from day to day, to see them shut out of various foreign countries and particularly out of the East. One did feel out there that it was very essential that they should continue to retain the support—silent it might be but very real—of Associations such as this.

One other respect in which bodies such as this could assist was in respect of the Administration. He was very glad Mr Foot had referred to reconstruction after the war. They had all of them had brought to their notice frequently immense plans for the development of India. Those plans, so far as one could see, were likely to remain entirely paper plans unless something was done to improve the Administration. They had been fortunate in Bengal in having the advice of the Rowlands Committee, and there was some prospect when he left India of that Committee's recommendations being put into effect. It was of the utmost importance that attention should be concentrated on the Administration whether manned by Indian or British. The civilian population all stood or fell by that. The Administration was now inevitably showing signs of the strain it had had to bear, and it was of great importance that it should be maintained at a reasonable level for the future because it was only so that the developments to which the British had contributed in the past could be continued in the future.

He wished to mention also a further point. It would be pleasing to that audience to know that they in Calcutta as well as in other centres had not lost sight of the question of amenities for Indian troops. They realized more than the public at home how much they owed to them and had done their best to help to provide amenities for Indian troops as well as British under the leadership of Lady Reid in particular.

Dr RANJEE SHAHANI said that it so happened that not very long ago he went to see an English friend and his wife who asked him what he thought of the English. He told them, and then the lady said, "Surely you cannot have a good word to say about the Anglo-Indians. We despise them; we think they are a disgrace to us in India." That sort of feeling did exist in this country about the English in India, so that he was glad the speaker of the afternoon had taken advantage of Chinese wisdom and blown his own trumpet! There was not the slightest doubt that British men and women in India had done for the war effort what they could in the circumstances. But surely this was their plain duty. He was more interested in the fact that the British in India were not in any way a stumbling-block to Indian progress. They were on the whole progressive, and that was a very good sign. But they must begin to think of their place in the India of tomorrow. It all depended on themselves. As Mr Foot had said the British in India had to create friendships for themselves. This was not particularly difficult if they exercised their well-known powers of charm. Indeed, there was a fund of goodwill in India for the British. Even the advanced politicians over there had no hatred of the British as such. He remembered Colonel Lawrence once saying "The less you know the British the better you like them." He was utterly wrong. When one saw the British for the first time one was not attracted by them; they were apt to seem stiff, aloof, or aggressive; but on getting to know them better one found how very human they were. The place of the British in India is one they are able to make for themselves. Do not let the Americans run away with it.

Mr EDWIN HAWARD said that they had heard from the author of the unfortunate emphasis laid on the black sheep in the British family abroad. Let them get down to actualities. The story was quite a short one. Extraordinarily inaccurate impressions were telegraphed about British men and women in the Far East. It was said that English women in Singapore would not give up their tennis and bridge for war work, yet to his knowledge the English women there worked hard for the Red Cross. General Jardine, Director of Army Welfare, gave an interview in which very direct attacks were made on the British women in India. The facts on which such critics based their attacks were not accurate. Action should be taken to deter people in responsible positions from making statements on imperfect bases of information. A friend of his had been writing for a world famous newspaper which was taken as a guide by benighted editors abroad, and he was horrified to find that when in perfect good faith he made a misstatement of fact in a leading article and subsequently corrected it he could never track down the original inaccuracy. It was always ahead of him. He would find newspapers in South America or China or somewhere else repeating the mistake to which he had innocently given currency. The impressions Mr Lawson had referred to would never have got abroad if the initial errors had not been made.

Sir LIONEL HAWORTH said that most of the speakers in that discussion had been in India recently. He himself went to India fifty years ago. He wanted to explain one thing Mr Lawson said and to meet the objection which speakers had made on the subject of entertainment of Indian people. When he went to India—and he served thirty-five years out there—it was impossible for any white man to enter an Indian house and be received by the lady of the house. It was only during the last few years that entertainment such as would be given in England could be given in Indian homes. He himself had very great friends among Hindus, Prime Ministers of Indian States, he had been to their houses frequently, but had never met one of their wives. He used to play tennis constantly with an Indian maharaja, and when he got to know him very well indeed he was allowed to play tennis with his wife, but it was a very ex-

exceptional thing. The European community could not be blamed if they had been slow in responding. In Persia, where he had spent a large portion of his service, the purdah system had disappeared in the last fifteen to twenty years. Before he left Persia he went to lunch occasionally with a Persian lady, but it was a thing to be talked about. No Persian lady ever came to his house to see his wife if he was there.

The same was true of India. Therefore he did not think it was fair to blame the British community for want of entertainment when it was only during the last ten or fifteen years that there could be any reception in Indian houses. Previous speakers had said that those who went out for commercial houses should be instructed in these matters before they went. That was very right and proper but only within the last fifteen years was it possible for them to make use of such instruction supposing it to have been given. The fact that social intercourse was now possible was one of the greatest tributes to British influence.

A second point he wanted to make turned upon Mr. Lawson's remark about the slightness of any reference in the newspapers to what the people in India had done for the Indian, the American, or the British troops who had been there on service. He himself occasionally wrote in the papers, and a short time ago the sub-editor of one of the leading papers told him, "You know people in general are absolutely bored about India. They yawn at the mention of the word India and to tell you the truth I yawn too. If you could write anything that would interest me about India you may be sure I would publish it because if it interests me it will interest the general public. Anything about India makes them yawn." He thought that was why tri-bits were published. It was like the old story if a dog bit a man it was not news but if a man bit a dog it was. If women went to work for the Red Cross it was no news at all but if a woman refused to work for the Red Cross it would stop people yawning.

The same complaint had been made in a rather different way about the Potsdam conference then sitting. Because no news of any value was available as to what was happening the papers put in ridiculous items about the food the delegates ate and the sheets they slept in. It was news and the ordinary person was interested to learn any triviality about the doings of Mr. Truman though if it had been said that Mr. Truman was hard at work at the conference table he would have been bored. Anything amusing and above all anything personal was sure of being read. There had been some comment which as Mr. Howard had said was purely malicious.

Mr. LAWSON, in reply first referred again to the paper read by Mrs. Portal to the Association in May 1943. A copy of his own paper was sent to Mrs. Portal who replied that she only took serious objection to one thing in his remarks about her paper—namely that her observations had been based more on theory than on wide experience. He did not mean to imply that Mrs. Portal had not had wide experience of India she had. What he wished to draw attention to was that he maintained that the British had been of practical good to the country, and no amount of theory would alter that fact. Nor would any amount of chat about social relations alter it. There were all over India memorials to the good that the British had done to the country. For that reason he did not intend to be drawn into any discussion about social relations. Much had been said—and he supposed it would go on being said—about the exclusive Britisher. His work was mainly carried out with Indians and certainly during most of his time in Delhi he was sitting with and talking to Indians.

He admitted that there were faults on the British side. The British did not learn languages easily, and of course they were shy—shy rather than exclusive. But he sometimes asked himself why in view of the fact that that criticism was always being put to him, he had never found himself in the position of putting the same criticism to Indians. One heard the criticism on the one side but seldom on the other and he thought in all fairness they must say with Sir Lionel Haworth that there was certainly another side to the story. Sir Lionel Haworth's remarks about news were equally true. Unless something striking happened it did not get much into the news, but the fact that only the striking things were published threw the whole picture out of balance.

He thanked his audience for the patience and kindness with which they had listened to him, and he hoped he had done something to redress what had hitherto been a very unfair balance of statement.

SIR HUBERT CARR conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Mr Charles Lawson for his paper. He said that it was fifteen years since Mr Lawson first came home to help their little team which was working on the Constitution eventually embodied in the 1935 Act. He had greatly enjoyed the paper and if it had been something in the nature of a cornet solo he was all the more pleased, and he felt proud to belong to that community of which Mr Lawson had spoken so eloquently.

The vote of thanks was accorded unanimously, and the meeting terminated.

THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1945

WITHIN a week of the close of the year under report the war in Europe was ended by the unconditional surrender of the German armed forces. The difficulties of carrying on activities in London during more than five and a half years of war were in some respects intensified in recent months. In the summer and autumn flying bombs hurtled over some of our meetings and finally there came the menace of the rockets, unheralded by siren warnings. Despite the handicaps of war time, every announced arrangement for meetings was carried out.

The programme of the year was thoroughly topical. A foremost place was given to the vast contribution of India to the war effort. In October with the valued assistance of Lieut.-General G. N. Molesworth then Secretary of the Military Department India Office, three distinguished members of the Indian fighting services gave brief addresses on the respective contributions of those arms—Commander T. S. Hall C.B., on the Royal Indian Navy; Major Sarabjit Singh Kalha, D.S.O., on the Indian Army, and Squadron Leader K. K. Majumdar, D.F.C., on the Indian Air Force (subsequently designated Royal). By the death on service in February of the last named officer a career of great promise was cut short. In July the late Major Yeats Brown of *Bengal Lancer* fame read a paper entitled "With the Indian Soldier Today" which epitomized the thrilling and glorious story of the exploits of the three fighting Services of India given in his posthumously published *Martial India*. His recent death is greatly to be regretted for in him India has lost a good friend. These meetings were fitly presided over by two former Commanders-in-Chief in India—the first named by F. M. Sir Philip Chetwode and the second by F. M. Lord Birdwood. There was similar appropriateness in the chairmanship of our President, Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes when at the end of October, Wing-Commander W. W. Russell gave in greater detail than was possible at the composite meeting early in the month "The Story of the Indian Air Force"—for as Sir John Cumming remarked at the close of the discussion, if there is anyone entitled to be called the father of military flying it is our President.

Earlier in the year Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, gave an authoritative outline of the plans of Government for absorbing into the post-war fabric the demobilized Service men numbering possibly one and a half million, by resettlement on the land, employment on the expanding industries of the country and the creation of small businesses. The theme was further developed in January by Brigadier F. L. Brayne. He dwelt on the necessity of transforming the rural areas by the agency of the returned soldiers, who had during the war years gained both breadth of view and experience of different countries. Brigadier

Brayne's devoted labours for rural uplift in the Punjab over many years are widely known, and he is serving at A.H.Q., New Delhi, in connection with post-war re-settlement and planning.

Much was heard in the autumn of the drawbacks of life in India for the British soldier in war-time, and the insufficiency of amenities such as are provided in other bases or theatres of war. In December Lieut.-Colonel G. R. Stevens, joint author of the booklet *The Tiger Kills* was to lecture on this subject, but as meantime Lord Munster had gone to India and Burma on a mission of investigation, he devoted his remarks mainly to the theory that with organization and due encouragement, the British soldier representing in these days of conscription a cross-section of home life, could play a fruitful part in the development of cordial relations between the British and Indian peoples.

War-time conditions in Baluchistan—a portion of India of which little has been heard, but which at the beginning of the world conflict was of great strategical importance—were expounded in January by Sir Aubrey Metcalfe lately Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner in the Province. Reference was also made to the North West Frontier where the tribal areas in Sir Aubrey's words, have been remarkably peaceful and well behaved in the war years.

The necessity for long term as well as short-term planning for the post war years was kept steadfastly in view. In May Mr R. A. Butler the Education Minister, fresh from piloting his Education Act, presided at a meeting when Mr John Sargent Educational Adviser to the Government of India unfolded the far reaching proposals issued by the Central Advisory Board of Education. He said that the aim of the Committee was not to prescribe an ideal system but to outline the minimum programme of development which would place India on an approximate educational level with other countries.

In the following month Mr B. S. Saklatvala expounded the important Bombay Plan of economic development issued by a number of leading Indian industrialists, which took priority among various non-official schemes put forward. Early in July, at the annual meeting Professor A. V. Hill M.P. Secretary of the Royal Society based his talk, *India Scientific Development or Disaster* on his tour of the country at the invitation of the Government. His grave warnings attracted much attention. When several eminent Indian scientists came to this country in the autumn, Sir Shanti S. Bhatnager delivered a forceful lecture on *Science and Industrial Progress in the New India*. At this meeting Mr Amery the Secretary of State for India made an important statement emphasizing the earnest desire of H.M. Government to assist in the development of Indian industries to the full and expressing his belief that British industrialists also desired to co-operate in the process.

The latter view was confirmed in an informative and reassuring survey in February of *Britain's Indian Market Past Present and Future* by Sir Thomas Ainscough speaking from the unrivalled experience of twenty-seven years tenure as H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Burma and Ceylon. Further in this connection the Bevin training scheme and its relation to Indian industrial development were set forth in April by Mr E. Watson Smyth an engineer by profession, who during the war years has been at the Ministry of Labour and National Service in charge of many training schemes. A number of Indian trainees belonging to the twelfth batch of Bevin Boys attended and testimony came from various quarters as to the bearing and abilities of the young men. Responsible speakers expressed the view that the scheme would be valuable in helping to stabilize and improve trade union organization in India. There were pleas that the Bevin scheme should be extended in an upward direction.

The future constitution of India was much in mind on various occasions. In July Sir William Barton read a paper on *Princes and Politics*, which stressed the importance of the States in the India of the future and the need for progress in the less advanced of them. The close connection between rural reconstruction and the political future of India was discussed in a broad minded way in November by Dr J. Z. Hodge, late Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon. The political and constitutional background was included when in February Sir Evelyn Wrench, the founder of the Overseas League and the English-

Speaking Union, gave his impressions of two and a half war years in India. In April, Mr A. K. Pillai, who had been representing in this country for fifteen months the Indian Radical Democratic Party, outlined a Political Plan for India, and stated that his Party stood for strong support of the war effort and for democratic non-communalism.

At two other meetings of the year discussion was necessarily limited mainly to experts. The first, in May, was a plea for extensive reform in the Indian judicial system by Sir John Beaumont, late Chief Justice of Bombay and now a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The second in November was an informative lecture on Broadcasting to India, by Professor Rushbrook Williams, who had recently retired from war-time tenure of the post of Director of Eastern Services B B C.

Another subject of general interest was in the programme. At a meeting held in March jointly with the Royal Society of Arts the Association sponsored an expert plea for the provision of an Oriental cultural centre in London from Mr F. H. Andrews, formerly Curator of the Lahore Museum and later of the Stein collection at New Delhi.

Sir John Woodhead, Chairman and Sir Atul Chatterjee, a Vice-Chairman of the Council were members of Lord Zetland's Committee, which was appointed by the Secretary of State for India to consider the question of an Oriental Centre in London and they were thus in a position to bring to the notice of the Committee the views of the Association on the subject. It is understood that the Report of the Committee was submitted during the winter but it has not yet been published.

Reference should be made to the invitation the Council received to state its views to the inter-departmental Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Scarbrough (formerly Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay) to consider the facilities in this country for the study of Oriental, Slavonic and East European languages and culture. A memorandum was prepared by the Council and was later amplified at a meeting of a section of the Commission. In this memorandum among other suggestions, reference was made to the need for provision for British women going out to India to undertake some preliminary study of life and thought in that country. The Association was also asked for its views on far reaching proposals of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal on cultural organization in India and a sympathetic reply was sent.

The outstanding social function of the year was the reception given at the Imperial Institute in June to the two representatives of India in the Imperial War Cabinet—H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and Sir Feroz Khan Noon—when some 300 guests were present. Such gatherings are made possible by the generous grants for hospitality of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and H. H. the Maharaja Sindhuia of Gwalior. A contribution was also made by the National Indian Association. The Council further acknowledges with warm thanks a donation of £100 from H. H. the Maharaja of Gondal shortly after succeeding his father, who was also a helpful friend of the Association.

The growth of membership continued, for there were ninety four elections as compared with eighty three in the previous year. Losses by death revision of the rolls and a few resignations left the net gain of the year as sixty-one. The representative character of the new members headed by the name of General Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief in India can be seen from Appendix B. The total amount received from subscriptions (excluding those of life members which are put to capital account) substantially surpassed the record figure of the previous year by reaching the total of £1,119 0s 10d.

The redemption of £250 5 per cent Conversion Stock the favourable financial position, and the refund of income-tax over a series of years, enabled the Council to purchase £1,250 3 per cent Savings Bonds. It also allocated £500 of the assets to the establishment of a Staff Gratuity and Pensions Fund. By the death of Sir Clement Hindley we lost the senior Trustee of the funds. Sir Gilbert Wiles and Sir Robert Reid have accepted election as new trustees. Sir Gilbert Wiles and Mr G. H. Langley were appointed auditors of the accounts for 1944-5, and the thanks of the Council are conveyed to them.

The Right Hon. Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, has continued

to take an interest in the work of the Association, and has accepted appointment as a vice-president.

The hand of death deprived the Council of two valued colleagues—Sir Ernest Hotson and Sir Courtenay Latimer. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and Mr P. K. Dutt resigned on return to India, and Sir Idwal Lloyd also retired on removing from London. The Council had the pleasure of welcoming back to its deliberations Sir Hubert Carr after five years' absence from London on official work. The Council also co-opted Sir Torick Ameer Ali (late Judge of the Calcutta High Court), Lieut. General G. N. Molesworth, Mr J. K. Michie and Brigadier F. G. Smyth, v.c. The members of Council retiring by rotation, but eligible for re-election are Sir William Barton, Sir Frank Brown, Sir Louis Dane, Lady Hartog, Mr F. Richter, Sir Samuel Runganadhan and Sir Gilbert Wiles.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate or candidates for election to the Council at the Annual General Meeting, subject to fifteen days' notice being given to the Honorary Secretary.

The Council wishes to record its thanks to Sir Thomas Smith for his assiduous work in representing the Association from the outbreak of war on the Executive and Finance Committees of the Empire Societies War Hospitality Committee.

Sir John Woodhead has been in India since July as Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the famine in Bengal and other parts of India. His absence enables his colleagues to pay tribute to the great value of his services as Chairman of Council during five war years. He has devoted a great deal of time to the work of the Association and taken a deep and sustained interest in all matters relating to the effective maintenance of its work.

It is the agreeable duty of the Council to tender its very grateful thanks to the Honorary Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, for the zeal and industry with which he has continued to look after the affairs of the Association. Our meetings and other functions owe a great part of their success to the tact, knowledge and experience of Sir Frank Brown, and the notable increase in membership during the war years is also a striking testimony to his devotion to the work of the Association.

ATUL C CHATTERJEE } *Vice-Chairmen*
T SMITH

F. H. BROWN *Hon. Secretary*

May 30 1945

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE annual meeting of the Association was held at the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2 on Friday July 20 1945 with the President, Major-General the Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK SYKES P.C. G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E. M.C.B., G.M.C. in the chair.

THE PRESIDENT said that at the annual meeting last year he congratulated members and their friends on being present in disregard of the constant peril of V.I. attacks that day they were meeting without such menace although they were only too conscious that in the Far East and with India as a main base there was still a grim war to fight.

Great pride was felt at the part which India had played in the greatest war of human history, and at the conclusion of the business of the meeting General Sir Moseley Mayne, who had taken an honourable part in it, would give an account of India's invaluable contribution to the gigantic efforts of the last six years. He would speak in the presence of two Field-Marshal and ex-Commanders-in-Chief in India, Lord Burdwood and Lord Chetwode. Another visitor he warmly welcomed

was His Excellency the Nepalese Minister, whose country had done so much through the indomitable Gurkha soldiers to help in so many fields to attain victory. General Mayne would also speak in the presence of one of the great Princes of India who had given such unstinted and wholehearted support to Britain and her Allies and not least to India herself in the war effort, His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, who had reached this country just in time to share in the rejoicings on V E day. He had since come into personal touch with the R A F Squadron he provided early in the war and which had an excellent operational record. Its officers and serving echelons had enjoyed his hospitality on several occasions and were proud to be identified with his progressive State. The President also took the opportunity of thanking His Highness for maintaining the generosity of his great predecessor Sayaji Rao III, in making an annual grant of £50 to the Association for hospitality purposes—a most valuable aid to the work. This grant, together with a similar one from His Highness the Maharaja Sindhis of Gwalior enabled the Association to have social contacts, and it was because of this that the annual meeting was open to friends of members on the understanding of course, that they took no part in any voting that might be required.

Members had received and would no doubt have read the Annual Report. Probably for the first time in the history of the Association it did not bear the signature of a Chairman of Council. The explanation was that Sir John Woodhead had spent the past twelve months in India on the laborious task of presiding over the Commission of Inquiry into the late famine in Bengal and some other parts of India. Even the brief summaries published in the Press in this country showed that he and his colleagues had done their work thoroughly and that in the old legal phrase they had passed judgment on the available data without fear or favour affection or ill-will. This was what was to be expected of a distinguished Yorkshireman. It was hoped to welcome Sir John back today, but he had not yet reached this country. Lady Woodhead, who had intended to be present, had been kept at home by the birth of a grandson, and the meeting would wish to express their congratulations on this event. Sir John Woodhead had been much missed but happily the Council had been well served in his absence by the two vice-chairmen Sir Atul Chatterjee and Sir Thomas Smith.

There was every reason to hope that the steady advance in membership, recorded in the later war years, would continue into the years of peace. The number of members elected during the past year was 92 and the total was now nearly 1,000.

The programme of papers and discussions had been both varied and topical and reliance had been placed as far as possible, on lecturers and speakers fresh from India. Sir Frederick James who helped materially in this way, wrote in a farewell letter: May I add a word of admiration for the splendid work which the Association is doing in helping people in the United Kingdom to keep abreast of the rapidly changing India of today? It is a real public service to both countries. Sir Frederick James's lecture at the beginning of May indicated the possibility of the formation of a National Government following on the visit of the Viceroy to this country and later events showed that he was nearer the mark than might have been thought at the time. It had fallen to himself to explain the background of the Simla Conference in the current number of the *New English Review*.

The membership represented varying points of view on Indian problems but he felt he could speak in the name of the vast majority and indeed of all members, in expressing regret that the conference while marking a great advance in that the parties met together for discussion, did not achieve the immediate objective. Sympathy was felt for the Viceroy in the failure of his patient and earnest efforts, but there would be entire agreement with him in the final words of his closing speech.

Do not any of you be discouraged by this set-back. We shall overcome our difficulties in the end. The future greatness of India is not in doubt.

The Annual Report gave a list of Members of Council retiring by rotation but eligible for re-election. One of them, Sir Louis Dane, was resigning on grounds of age. He was for nine years Chairman of the Council and thanks were due to him for his keen interest in the work of the Association which he had maintained into his ninetieth year. Since the report was issued the Association had lost by death one

of its senior Vice-Presidents—Lord Crewe. His membership dated back almost to the first decade of this century, and he presided at one of the meetings a few years ago.

No annual meeting of the Association could possibly disperse without recording the invaluable and indefatigable work of its good friend, Honorary Secretary and gentle dictator Sir Frank Brown. The members thanked him and hoped that he would be able to help the Association for many more years to come. The President asked Sir Frank to convey to Mr King the members' grateful thanks for all that he had done.

Finally, he was happy to welcome the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, who was in India last cold weather in connection with her highly successful work for the last six years as head of the WVS for Civil Defence.

Lady READING, in moving the adoption of the Annual Report, said that she felt it an honour to do so, particularly since her short visit to India at the beginning of the year. She covered 18,000 miles between December 15 and January 15, and was deeply impressed and thrilled by what she saw after twenty years' absence from India. A great many of the seeds being planted then were obviously beginning to bear fruit. She felt that New Delhi was a beautiful monument of a conception of long ago which had given ideas and ideals which had begun to be attained.

Looking through the report, one realized that every one of the talks of the year had been on the forward policy which all were watching so carefully. There was no one present who was not acutely aware of the area problems. Resettlement was a matter of extreme interest and great anxiety; the question of science as applied to industrial research; the question of industrial relations; the question of public relations were all things which made people realize that they were not just talking platitudes but were trying to lay the foundations for great understanding of and the solution of problems. There could not be a single person either in this country or in India who was not aware of the pregnancy of the great things of the future, and if these things had been tackled early and with care by members of the Association, many ideals would have become hard facts. As Chairman of the WVS, she had come into touch with the Indian trainees in this country, and in every case she was very glad to see the people in her own service working to a closer understanding of one and the other problem with an application to fact not always evident in the past.

In conclusion, she also wished to pay a tribute to the work of Sir Frank Brown for the Association.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA, in seconding the resolution, said that in former years he sometimes accompanied his grandfather and great predecessor on his visits to this country and became aware of the interest he took in the work of the Association and the regularity with which he read its proceedings in the *Asiatic Review*. On more than one occasion he presided at the Association's meetings. The relations between Baroda and the Association went back for many years. His grandfather was one of the Vice-Presidents for more than half a century, and he saw that the Association could play a valuable part in promoting the welfare of India and that it could do so not only by the open discussion of Indian problems but also by bringing Indians and British together on mutual terms. It was for the latter purposes that Sayaji Rao III had made the grant of £50 per annum for hospitality, and it had been his own pleasure to continue that grant. It was a matter of great importance that the developments in India today should be known and appreciated in this country, and he wished to pay his tribute to the way in which the Association was doing this valuable work.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE proposed the re-election of the President for the ensuing year. He did not think he need enumerate the various qualities and qualifications of Sir Frederick Sykes. His great and abiding interest in the welfare of India was well known, and during the three years since Sir Frederick Sykes was elected to the Council as well as the Association had been greatly indebted to him for his guidance and counsel. He had never refused or declined, in spite of his numerous engagements, to give assistance whenever he was asked for it for the purpose of carrying on the work.

of the Association. He had wished to be relieved at the end of three years, but he had been persuaded to agree to continue to be the President for another year. It was hoped that the Association would have the benefit of his advice, guidance and counsel for much longer than that.

LORD HAILEY seconded the proposal. He thought perhaps it might have been framed not so much in the form of a resolution as in the form of a request by the Association to Sir Frederick to continue duties which might have been a burden to him but which placed the Association under a great obligation to him.

The resolution was put to the meeting and declared by Sir Atul Chatterjee to be carried unanimously.

The PRESIDENT, acknowledging, thanked Sir Atul Chatterjee and Lord Hailey for their kind remarks and the Association for continued confidence in him. He would do his utmost to promote the interests of the Association.

SIR JOHN CUMMING said that his task was simply to propose that four members of the Council who had been co-opted during the past year be approved and that six members who retired by rotation should be re-elected. The four members for confirmation were Sir Torick Ameer Ali, Mr J. K. Michie, General Molesworth and Brigadier J. G. Smyth, V.C., and no words were needed to commend the acceptance of the proposal. The retiring members were Sir William Barton, Sir Frank Brown, Lady Hartog, Mr Richter, Sir Samuel Runganadhan and Sir Gilbert Wiles, and were all well known to the members. With regard to Sir Louis Dane, who was retiring, it was fifty years since the speaker first met him in Peshawar in the N.W. Frontier Province, and he had always had a very great affection for him. He was Governor of the Punjab more than a generation ago and he had served his country not only in the Punjab but in England, Ireland and Kashmir.

LORD SINHA seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously.

The PRESIDENT, in calling upon Sir Mosley Mayne for his address on India's war effort, said that General Mayne was General Officer Commanding in Chief the Eastern Command in India, the Command which bore the initial brunt of the war against Japan. Since leaving India he had been Secretary of the Military Department of the India Office and was in close touch with current events in the Far East and East, and there was no one better able to speak of the matter under discussion. The Indian Army continued to gather and win fresh laurels in the Far East war, a fact that had never been fully recognized either in this country or in the world. It was most important that what India had done and was doing should be given the greatest publicity. The efforts of the Indian Army would form an integral part of Indian history which he hoped would never be ignored or forgotten or even belittled. Some thirty V.C.s had been won by Indians and Gurkhas and there were amazing citations of sheer heroism attached to them.

Behind the forces in the field the great industrial cities of India had been working day and night. India had become the centre of eastern supplies and no one could say too much in favour of India's tremendous effort which had been so valuable in this war.

SIR MOSLEY MAYNE'S address is given from page 321. After the delivery the PRESIDENT thanked him most cordially and hoped that all the facts and figures and the opinions which he had voiced would be spread far and wide as they deserved to be.

A social hour and the serving of tea followed.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association)

JAPAN A PROBLEM IN RECONSTRUCTION

BY T R G LYELL

Let us suppose a potter is presented with a certain oddly shaped vessel, broken and cracked in several parts but retaining certain elements, whether of shape or design of undeniable beauty and charm. He is asked to repair and reshape it according to a new pattern but to be specially careful not in any way to change or damage those beautiful elements which must be retained in the final result. Surely an almost impossible task! He would first have to learn all he could as to the origin of the broken specimen particularly the nature of the clay used in its manufacture the technique of its moulding and decoration as also the purpose for which it was designed. To fulfil the condition and to succeed in turning out the vessel in the shape desired would certainly be a work of insuperable difficulty.

This is something akin to what the Allies are pledged to do with Japan but with this difference—that in the place of the plastic and passive substance of clay there is the unpredictable reaction of the human element to an unwilling and hated operation not to mention the quite unforeseeable behaviour of that odd phenomenon, the Japanese Spirit or Yamato Damashii.

The Japanese claim that they are a peculiar people different in kind from all other nations and of course far superior. They base this claim on their divine origin both the country and its inhabitants being the offspring of the gods while their ruler is the last of an unbroken line of divine Emperors who trace their lineage direct from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu-o-mi Kami.

Now their claim to be unique among the nations of the world is, to a great extent true though not in the way nor for the reasons that they affirm. For not only do they share the difference between the Oriental and Occidental common to all Far Eastern peoples but they also show characteristics quite distinct from those of their racial neighbours. For example there is an immaturity an odd childishness in the Japanese when compared to the mellow dignity of the Chinese outlook. But contrast the Japanese power of organisation of selecting a goal and driving straight at it of quick, incisive thinking with the Chinese vagueness love of argument and laissez faire and we realize how vastly different they are from their continental cousins.

The Japanese character has been formed and developed under the pressure of two forces cultural or perhaps religious, and political.

To a very great extent the Japanese are mentally still in the tribal stage and this is largely due to Shinto, the Japanese form of Ancestor Worship. Owing to this the individual Japanese thinks of himself not as an individual but as one of a group and all his actions and general outlook on life are basically affected by this conception. The primary group is of course the Family a term which includes all relatives connected through the male line. The ethical code holding the group together is that known as Filial Piety.

For well over a thousand years the Japanese people have been ruled by this unwritten law, the essential of which is loyalty to the group expressed in an unquestioning unreasoning and slavish obedience to the command of authority and the infallible voice of tradition. On the political side it must be remembered that from 1100 to 1868 Japan was organized under a military feudalism. At the head was the Dictator the *Shogun* his administration being known by the name of *Bakufu* or Military Headquarters. Of these 700 years no less than five hundred were taken up by almost unceasing inter-*clan* and civil wars.

These two factors then—the religious and the political—had the effect of exalting the virtue of loyalty to the overshadowing of all other qualities, of intensifying the *clan* or *group* spirit and mentality and of elevating the military caste and all that it stood for to a position of unassailable superiority.

In 1868 occurred that event known as the Restoration of the Emperor Meiji. By a stroke of the pen the old feudal organization was abolished and Japan entered on

her modern phase with all the appearances of a democratic Government. But for the two hundred years immediately preceding this vital date the country had been completely isolated, having closed its doors to every possible contact with other peoples. This had the inevitable result while the rest of the world was advancing as never before the old primitive beliefs and ideals of Japan were becoming more concentrated and crystallized.

It is true that during the past eighty years Japan has been greatly influenced by her ever increasing relationships with the rest of the world. But to expect all memories traditions, customs and points of view of hundreds of years to be suddenly transformed by a political revolution is as absurd as it is optimistic to hope that a few decades of imported foreign influence, habits and customs will produce a fundamental alteration in the psychological make-up. In addition to which it must not be forgotten that during the last ten years the people of Japan have been subjected to an unceasing barrage of atavistic propaganda to which they responded enthusiastically.

We are in fact, dealing with a people the majority of whom still think along feudal lines to whom the individualism of the West is anathema and to whom an unthinking loyalty is the supreme virtue. It is these three facts that will make the re-education or reconstruction of Japan so supremely difficult an undertaking.

There is, however, a certain Japanese concept which suggests one line of approach. In Japan success partakes of a moral quality because it is regarded as resulting from the benevolent assistance of the gods, the Kami, who award it in recognition of good conduct. Failure, on the other hand, implies something wrong somewhere which has displeased the Kami. The majority of the peasantry will most probably be holding this view which if rightly utilized by the Allied command can obviously be of the greatest value.

The re-education of Japan will naturally fall into two parts—the destruction of all that has led her into the disastrous adventures of the past fifteen years and the inculcating of new ideals, new aims and new methods of attaining thereto. It is clear that in the first stage the complete discrediting of the militarists, their following and all that they have stood for, must take a very high priority. Such obvious measures as emphasizing how the people have been lied to and deceived by the Army Press Headquarters both before and during the war will of course be taken, but the effect of this type of argument will quite likely be disappointing. A far more hopeful method will be the Success and Failure approach. For example, it may be pointed out how Japan's wonderful progress between 1870 and 1930 was while it was under a democratic régime. Its extraordinary powers of organization, as shown in its rapid building up of a sound administrative system on modern lines—its educational policy, its striking industrial and commercial success—all resulted from the working of the democratic constitution granted by the Emperor Meiji. It would then be shown how the military clique determined to regain their old position as dictators of the country gradually forced themselves into such power as to compel the Government to embark on perilous but showy adventures of aggrandisement, how they removed obstacles by the simple methods of murder and blackmail and finally how they attained their objective—and with what result? The bitter humiliation of ruin and defeat, utter Failure!

In this great work of reconstruction there may be one danger which must not be lost sight of. The Japanese are an extremely emotional, though terribly repressed, people, and as such are liable to swing from one extreme to another. During the early 30s the Government authorities of Japan waged a merciless war against what was called Dangerous Thoughts. Between 1933 and 1936, 59,000 culprits were arrested, most of them students. All underwent imprisonment and torture, under which some died. Of course everyone arrested was called communist and there unquestionably was a small party of that colour as distinct from the far more numerous, but equally guilty, liberals. Some of the former were fortunate enough to escape to China, where they formed a Japanese Revolutionary Committee. At the moment there are actually three such committees working in different parts of China. They have already issued their manifestos and published their plans, and that they will find quite a number of adherents in a defeated Japan is certain. But a Communist movement of any strength would undoubtedly cause such disturbances

and unrest in the country as seriously to delay the peaceful progress of reconstruction and re-education. Care therefore will have to be taken that this re-education does not become a re-education that the people are guided along a healthy and unprovocative middle course and it will be no easy job!

This gives rise to the natural question as to whether Japan will be able to settle down to a new way of life without going through the horrors of open revolution. If this is to be avoided it will be essential to remove, so far as possible the main causes of discontent—hunger poverty and idleness with their inevitable accompaniment of epidemics and disease. Japan is mainly agricultural. At the moment there is a serious scarcity of foodstuffs particularly of rice and fish, the staple articles of diet. The very inadequate supply of the former is due partly to the blockade, partly to lack of farm labour but more particularly to lack of chemical fertilizers. Rice which should have been reserved for planting has been consumed. With demobilization there will be a greater influx into the countryside than ever before for the destruction of so many factories will drive the workers back to the land—at least for some time to come. It would seem therefore that unless steps are taken—and taken as a matter of urgency—to supply the farmers with fertilizer and seed there will be a very real danger of creating a situation from which a serious revolution might well spring.

The most important instrument for moulding the new Japan will be Education—and that in its widest sense. The country's existing education system is as efficient a machine as can be desired. It starts with the primary school compulsory for every child from 6 to 14, and continues through middle school (14-18), high school (18-20) to university (20-23). Every establishment is directly or indirectly under the control of the Ministry of Education (*Monbusho*) which attaches the highest importance to its normal schools for the training of its teachers. No teacher can be engaged by any school without a licence issued by the Ministry. Every textbook is under the same control. Thus the Government can ration the intellectual and cultural food of the people both in regard to quality as to quantity precisely as it desires. To scrap so efficient a machine would seem to be quite unnecessary but to ensure the right engineers being in charge is obviously essential.

But certain changes will have to be effected in the inside working of schools and colleges. Some habits of thought and custom peculiarly Japanese must be eliminated. Thus the unfair influence through family relationship must be abolished—no easy task! As also what is known as the Examination Hell which leads many students into grave illness and some to suicide. Yet more difficult will it be to change the very aim to which hitherto all Japanese education has been directed. Instead of the object being to turn out good men and women it has been to turn out good Japanese—a vast difference! For remembering what has been said of the group mentality that runs through all Japanese psychology the main idea has been to ensure that the student shall regard himself of value only as a member of a group and not as an individual. Hence all individualism any talent or personal characteristic that may lead him to excel and thus differentiate him from his fellows is deliberately discouraged and even suppressed. This largely accounts for the lack of originality with which Japanese scholarship is so often charged while the loss to the nation has naturally been incalculable.

The people as a whole are enthusiastic listeners-in to the radio, and even the most remote villages have their loud-speaker. If—and this is an essential proviso—a well planned broadcasting campaign is instituted carefully thought out by those who really understand something of Japanese psychology immense good will accrue. Cinema and theatre programmes will require the most careful censoring for Japanese films concentrate on blood-curdling stories from the old days of feudal chivalry and the exalting of Samurai or militarist ideals. Similarly too the Kabuki stage presents dramas of which the plot almost invariably centres round such subjects, which in the present circumstances, is wholly undesirable.

From the little that has been said then it is clear that the reconstruction of Japan is going to be a task of tremendous complexity as of incalculable difficulty. By far the greater share of the work if it is to be of real value must be undertaken by the Japanese themselves. The most fundamental problem is that to the solution of which the only true approach is one of religion. It is the problem of converting the

group" mentality to a healthy individualism—the emphasis being on the word healthy. The family system with its code of filial piety has produced qualities which in themselves are most admirable, among these stand out a wonderful capacity for utter self-abnegation and self-sacrifice, and a loyalty that, were it based on reason, would be a model for the world. Such virtues must not be lost, and one way of preserving them is to teach that system of ethics which, though based on the infinite value of the human, individual soul, inculcates self-denying love as the highest of all ideals—in other words Christianity. The Japanese nature is one that, when convinced of the truth of an ideal, will both in practice as well as theory remain true to that ideal through thick and thin. Were Japan as a nation to become Christian it would be no mere nominal label, as it is so often in the West, but a very definite Way of Life. It is admittedly a subject of some delicacy, but we are faced with a problem in which a whole nation is making a new start, involving a complete change of heart and change of mind. Japan's much-boosted New Order is, in fact, to be set up in Japan itself. It may well be found that the best guide for the creation of that New Order is the New Testament!

THE NEED FOR CONTINUED AID TO CHINA

By THE REV NOEL SLATER

FREED from the invader at last, China is faced with a task of reconstruction and rehabilitation that would surely daunt any nation of lesser fibre than the Chinese.

Many of her great cities have been reduced to ruins, millions of houses have been destroyed, schools, colleges and universities have been wrecked. But the destruction of property, extensive as it has been, is of little consequence compared with the tremendous loss of life and the appalling effect of eight years of war upon the national health. Disease due to prolonged malnutrition and wartime privation generally is rife everywhere, but particularly in the areas of South East China which have recently been liberated. The incidence of tuberculosis, as might be expected, is alarmingly high. Letters from infected students and others received by British United Aid to China through their correspondents in Chungking and elsewhere show clearly how grave is the situation in this respect.

The problem of feeding the people becomes progressively more difficult. Through out the war the amount of food produced, thanks largely to a series of bounteous harvests, was generally adequate; the difficulty has always been to transport it and the difficulty tends to become more acute.

Then there is the problem of the homeless. It is estimated that there are about 50,000,000 such persons in China to-day, more than the entire population of the United Kingdom.

The National Government has done its best in the field of relief and welfare work. The old and infirm and the sick have been given special attention, while from April, 1938, to the end of 1944 some nine million persons were given assistance of various kinds. A large part of the burden of relief, however, has of necessity fallen upon charity organisations. These have given much needed aid to more than twenty million persons, and of course, this work is still going on.

Britain can be proud of the part played in relief work by British United Aid to China, which, as a result of the sustained generosity of the British public, has already allocated no less than £1,300,000 to the relief of distress through its voluntary committee in Chungking. These funds have been allocated irrespective of class, creed, and party, the sole consideration being that of need. Hospitals, medical schools, children's welfare societies, refugees, schools and colleges, women's welfare societies and a host of others have all been given valuable assistance. Gifts in kind include thousands of woollen garments for children and many tons of drugs, bandages and other medical supplies.

But British United Aid to China realizes to the full that this is no time to let up on this urgent work, and in a recent statement to the Press Lady Cripps, President of the Organization, emphasized the need for continued effort.

Some weeks before VJ Day British United Aid to China decided to inaugurate collection contributions in factories and other industrial establishments and to organize regular house-to-house collections throughout Britain such as were so successful in the case of the Red Cross Penny a Week Fund. This, of course, entails a big job of organization and its full effect may not be observed for some time, but already it is bearing fruit.

Meantime the Organization apprised by the Chungking Committee of the desperate situation in the liberated area is taking steps to organize mobile Relief Team Spearheads to afford emergency relief where needed. These teams, working in close co-operation with UNRRA, will be recruited on the spot and will be financed by British United Aid to China. Other plans for long-term relief measures are being considered in association with UNRRA.

British United Aid to China must, however, continue to further the work of relief mainly by supporting with the necessary funds those many charitable bodies working in China and which have already done so much. This policy it will certainly carry out to the very limit of its capacity.

THE RECOVERY OF SINGAPORE

BY SIR FRANK SWETTENHAM GCMG CH

THAT Singapore should be restored to the British Empire is cause for great thankfulness and our sympathy is profound for the many thousands of British and other subjects—sailors, soldiers and civilians, men, women and children—who for the last three and a half years have endured the fiendish cruelties of a savage enemy. Great numbers of men have died under the hardships inflicted by the Japanese, and we may be fervently thankful that the day of release came much sooner than was expected by the most sanguine.

It was done by the fall of one—or at most two—atom bombs and when one reads of the terrible havoc caused by those instruments of destruction one may feel that some of the shouts of victory have been overloud.

The Japanese have surrendered. They have preferred that course to seeing their cities wiped out of existence, their people killed by tens of thousands in a moment of time. Our armed forces have entered Singapore without the loss of a man and it has been the same with the armies of our Allies in other places. But while the punishment of the Japanese people can hardly fail to strike horror, we must not forget the perpetual and long-drawn-out indignities, torment and murders committed by the Japanese soldiery and their masters. Moreover, the sudden end of hostilities will save the lives of hundreds—perhaps thousands—of men of the Allied nations with consequent misery for their relatives and friends. The people of Japan, whether in their own country or abroad, do not strike the observer as savages, and crimes committed by their armed forces may be the result of training under arms—copied from the methods of their German allies—and taught by the military caste which for so long has dominated Japan.

We have yet to hear what is the condition of Singapore, but apparently the city has not been greatly damaged and once free of the invaders and their malignant influence it will soon return to the enjoyment of its old prosperity and regain its position as the great British port, market and distributing centre in the Far East.

The loss and the recovery of Singapore have drawn to it an attention which it never earned in over 100 years of its peaceful possession and occupation by the British.

That publicity is a good thing, for the colony—mis-called the Straits Settlements—has for long deserved that attention.

Singapore is only a small island, but it has a population of over 500,000 people, mainly Chinese. It has one great industry tin-smelting, the work being carried on in a factory built on an island close to the important docks, coal sheds and ship-building and repairing shops. But behind Singapore there is a very important Hinterland the Malay States, which are under British protection, and when left alone produce great quantities of tin and rubber to meet the urgent needs of the world which has been deprived of the greater part of these commodities since January, 1942.

That the British people should endeavour to learn the truth about Singapore—and Malaya generally—can hardly be questioned. Many years ago a German merchant in Singapore said to me that the place was better known in Germany—and especially in Hamburg—than it was in England. Probably he was right then, but it should not be true now. Yet only last week I read an article in a London news sheet which contained ridiculous statements about Malayan rubber and tin, and described the administration of the colony, of which Singapore is the capital, as effete and out-of-date. Of course the writer gave no reasons for his conclusions but people who have lived and worked for years in Singapore would be amazed to read such ill-informed criticism. It may be hoped that when new brooms have swept every floor and new sponges wiped every slate, the wielders of these implements will then write the truth about Singapore.

SIAM—BUFFER STATE OR FEDERAL UNIT?

By E. W. HUTCHINSON

At the outbreak of war in 1939 the sovereign independence of Siam was still assured (at least on paper), first, by the Franco-British declaration of January 1896 guaranteeing that neither England nor France would bring armed forces into the Menam drainage, excepting by mutual arrangement; secondly by the London Convention of 1904 defining their respective spheres of influence on either side of the Menam watershed. During the succeeding decades the effect upon Siam of these arrangements was to convert her into a Buffer State immune from attack, interposed between British and French territory in S.E. Asia. In 1917 Siam joined in the war against Germany, and in due course became a member of the League of Nations. She had developed an up-to-date Army and Air Force with modern equipment owing, however, to the limitations inherent in a thinly populated area, Siam's armament was totally inadequate for the task of safeguarding 15 million souls against the armed strength of a major world Power. For this reason critics were heard to complain that revenue expended upon Siamese armaments was wasted since physical circumstances were such as to preclude achievement of their essential object—the country's security. The combatant services, however, provided nationalist agitators with an instrument for glorifying their particular viewpoint. Such men spent the years before 1939 in advertising Siam's claim to unredeemed territory outside her respective frontiers with Malaya, French Indo-China and Burma, they replaced the ancient name of *Siam** with the hybrid *Thailand* in an attempt to foster solidarity with their kinsmen in those territories; their chauvinism was responsible for the Youth Corps (*Yuvachon*) which superseded the *Tiger Cubs* for the previous reign—the latter modelled on Baden Powell's *Scouts*, while Mussolini's *Bailla* inspired the Corps which supplanted the *Cubs*.

The effects of the 1929 financial crisis were not felt in Siam until 1931 at a time

* *Siam* appears on Cham inscriptions of the eleventh century two hundred years before the Southern Shan—*Syam*—asserted their freedom from Cambodian rule (*vide* R. J. Majumdar's *Champa*).

when the young Liberals were becoming restive at King Rama VII's delay in promulgating the Liberal Constitution which H.M. had long promised. The armed forces, discontented with the financial stringency imposed by the times, lent support to the Liberal Promoters, without which the successful *coup d'état* of June, 1932 could not have been engineered. Among the Promoters are statesmen of vision and integrity whose personal qualities are largely responsible for the sympathetic attitude towards the new régime adopted by foreign commercial interests who, never theless, viewed its dependence upon the military with some concern. Luang Pibul (a former military contemporary of the young Liberals in Paris) came to the fore in 1933 as leader of the forces which crushed Prince Bovaradej's counter-coup. In the four years which followed he gained an ascendancy which developed into a dictatorship on Fascist lines—undoubtedly encouraged in every way by Japan. Japan's political significance for Siam was first appreciated in 1933 when the Thai delegates at Geneva refused to associate themselves with the protest led by Britain and France against Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Japan undoubtedly had agents at work in Siam but there is no evidence that Pibul was one of them. On the contrary so long as Britain and France were in a position to implement their Buffer-State policy the freedom of action it conferred upon Siam suited her better than dependence upon a single dominant Power—a policy that had been tried and failed 250 years earlier. In 1687-88 Siam feeling threatened by the Netherlands sought alliance with Holland's strongest enemy, France, but only obtained it at the price of admitting French troops into the country: this concession was repudiated by the Thai people costing King Narai his throne and Phaulkon (the Greek adviser) his head.

Even in 1940, when France fell, the dictator still maintained friendly relations with Britain in the hope apparently that Japan would be content to take France's place *vis-à-vis* Britain in the East. Only in December 1941 seeing British inability to withstand Japan's onrush did he revert to the policy which had ruined King Narai. In acceding to the Japanese ultimatum requiring use of Siamese territory for passage of their troops he had no alternative but his subsequent action was clearly the outcome of a belated decision to obtain the maximum that full collaboration with Japan would yield.

A single week of British reverses appears to have sufficed for him to rally a majority of his colleagues in support of an *entente* with Japan. Six weeks later he declared war on us in the hope presumably of obtaining the unredeemed territories which his previous platonic support had failed to win. The Japanese, however kept him waiting another eighteen months and only gratified him at last in a final bid to retain Siam's friendship during the twilight period then beginning to darken Japanese prospects of victory. In the summer of 1944 their prospects had become black enough to compromise Pibul's position with his own people. His proposal to move the capital from Bangkok was rejected by the Assembly and his subsequent resignation was gladly accepted. His successor Luang Kovit managed to veil the country's growing sympathy with the Allies behind a façade of discreet loyalty to its moribund protector Japan. The caretaker Government which replaced Kovit upon Japan's surrender in 1945 is expected to yield before long to leadership by eminent members of the Free Thai (Resistance) group.

The problem of Siam's future foreign policy remains to be considered. The Buffer-State policy is a fair weather policy dependent upon the fortunes of its guarantors. If the major Powers are prepared to lead the way towards world stability by sacrificing some portion of their own national sovereignty a similar sacrifice in the case of Siam—while leaving the internal administration to her own care—would align her in federation with her neighbours of S.E. Asia as equal members of a regional group among the United Nations. It has been objected that relations with her neighbours in the past were as stormy as those between England and Ireland. That is no argument against better understanding in a future freed from the menace of standing national armies and the chauvinism which their maintenance encourages. Common interests will be discovered under a unified economic system. A common bond already exists in the fear shared by Burma, Annam, Malaya and Siam lest the fate of the American Indians at the hands of the European colonists be repeated in their own lands and S.E. Asia become a Chinese colony.

THE ATTITUDE OF MALAYS TO THE WAR, 1941 z

BY TENGGU MAHMUD M B E

(The author was in Malaya to the end, when he was ordered to leave to accompany British women and children, and did fine rescue work when the evacuation ships were bombed)

How shall he clear himself how reach
Your bar or weighted defence prefer?
A brother hedged with alien speech
And lacking all interpreter
Which knowledge vexes him a space
But while reproof around him rings,
He turns a keen untroubled face
Home, to the instant need of things

KIPLING

THE Malay associated British rule with security and justice. Had they not cleared the seas of pirates, stopped Chinese faction fights brought to an end armed skirmishes between rival chiefs and instituted settled government with equal benefits to rich and poor? With organized security it was no longer necessary for a Malay to go about armed, as previously for self protection. In fact, it became a punishable offence. This sense of parochial security grew, and it was not until Axis might made itself felt that the Malay tempered his belief that the British were capable of challenging all comers and licking them.

To the remotest villages filtered stories of the rise of new parties in Europe and pictures of new death-dealing weapons. The Malay vernacular press featured pictures of Hitler and Mussolini hurling defiance to the rest of the world. In Germany, Italy, Spain there was much swashbuckling and talk of war. The Malay was too recently removed from the swashbuckling and dictatorship of his own chiefs not to be susceptible to such propaganda. The already efficient Axis propaganda organs were more than helped by the press of the world. Some bruited the power of the Axis with the sole purpose of warning purveyors of appeasement, others because of open sympathy for the Axis. If the powerful nations of the world were impressed and affrighted, is it to be wondered that a people newly weaned, in terms of history, from a primitive existence should be impressed too.

The Italian conquest of Abyssinia made a deep impression in Malaya for it showed how useless it was for man to resist if he were not equipped and protected by the most modern weapons. Italy and Germany were clamouring in Europe, Japan was beginning to raise her voice about her Far East policy beyond the confines of her own country and England was still bent on a policy of appeasement. Thus the Malay could only attribute to England's inability to fight. Came the cataclysmic succession of events in Europe, from Munich to the fall of France. Never was England's prestige so low, but never before had it soared so rapidly as during the year she stood alone. Malay admiration and sympathy were high but anxiety was still felt at England's ability to stay the course. The telling propaganda of Axis successes in Europe was further aided by subversive Japanese propaganda. Every country has its handful of potential turncoats, traitors and opportunists and there is no doubt that in Malaya Japanese blandishments found a few receptive tools not all Malays, and Japanese gold paid for their co-operation. Within a little while subversive propaganda gave away to direct and within a few hours of the Japanese invasion of Malaya their leaflets and broadcasts promised death to the British who were responsible for the safety of the Malays. Military setbacks, civil confusion, the exodus of European women and children and later the movement south of the civil administration contributed to lower the confidence of Malays. How many in England realize what a strong case the Malay has, especially the vast majority to whom it was impossible to explain the reason for the movement south to Singapore. Within a few hours of the

first bombs shipping offices were inundated with enquiries for passages away. Not many hours afterwards started the exodus. The Malay watched this unblinkingly. He is philosophic by nature and he did not blame. He remained for this was his country, and it is natural for the foreigners to seek the sanctuary of their own country in times of danger. I have heard criticisms of the evacuation of British women and children from Chinese and Indians, but never from Malays. They accepted it. If they felt they were being abandoned they did not say so. Was the Malay to know that they would return? When weighed in the balance the Malay is not found wanting to the same degree as many of those who have chosen him as their scapegoat.

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES AFTER THREE YEARS OF WAR

By A CORRESPONDENT

A GRIM picture of conditions in the Netherlands East Indies is given by a NIGIS survey after three years of Japanese occupation based on information from many hundreds of liberated Indonesian prisoners of war, forced labourers and escapees from occupied territory.

The Japanese slave drive has become a regular man-hunt. Famine rules many densely populated areas, personal property, clothing, goods, utensils are worn out or vanished, political executions of leading Indonesians in certain areas take the form of mass murder, religious life is interfered with increasingly, free political and social life in the communities is entirely suppressed and the tension between the Japanese and the population is at snapping point.

The food position is desperate. The Japanese take an ever increasing share of the production of rice, maize and soya beans from one-third to three-fourths of the crops—and the crops have fallen considerably because a large part of the country's best land has been taken for the compulsory cultivation of cotton and castor oil beans.

By the middle of 1944 the Japanese had forcibly deported more than a million Indonesians in the prime of life. This figure has since increased considerably causing a shortage of man power for the cultivation of crops. The livestock has been decimated to feed the Japanese forces in Asia.

Forced labourers were subjected to large-scale atrocities. Numerous instances of mass torture of men and women and recently even children in sadistic madness are becoming known. Apparently the Japanese knowing that they cannot hold the Indies and seeing the hatred of the population at boiling point, have thrown off the mask completely squeezing the country by exterminating everybody who could be a leader. They are flaunting atrocities by publishing the murder of prominent citizens with photographs in the Malay newspapers they established.

In West Borneo thirteen native rulers were beheaded as well as all Indonesian intellectuals and economically leading Indonesians, also the property of these people was seized. Prominent Chinese, Arabs and leaders of religious associations—that is Mochammadiyah—shared the same fate. The victims include three Indonesian medical doctors with the wives of two of them. In April, 1944, alone more than 2,000 people were beheaded for alleged pro-Dutch conspiracy.

The Japanese authorities themselves are known to be anxious about the Indonesian population. The large and powerful civil service consisting largely of Western-trained Indonesians, is considered an unreliable instrument, as they desire even to work for the restoration of the former Government. The Japanese are

striving to play off the nationalists against the indispensable civil service. By promising independence they unleashed uncontrollable forces, and if the people were armed the Japanese would not last long. The immense majority of the population longs for the restoration of the old law and order and prosperity. The Japanese know this, and have so far refrained from giving any real responsibility to prominent Indonesians, being afraid that it would be turned against them.

It is evident that the small amount of liberty the Japanese were obliged to grant the Indonesian leaders to support their independence propaganda was being used by the Indonesians to strengthen the hands of the leaders of the anti-Japanese military administration.

Oppression, cruelty, and the raping of women led to a large number of local risings which were suppressed with the utmost brutality even to killing the whole population of rebel villages and islands. No doubt what is happening now in the liberated Indies will be repeated everywhere, and will increase as the liberators get further westward to the more populated and civilized regions and the Japanese will suffer all the more violently at the hands of the Indonesian population.

In liberated parts the arming and training of the natives had considerable results, for instance, the toll of Japanese taken by the natives on Biak alone in October 1944 was 521 dead and 9 prisoners. This indicates what is awaiting the Japanese. The Netherlands Indies people greatly resent nationalists, officials and other leaders, such as religious leaders, speaking and acting for the Japanese, even if clearly under compulsion. It is hoped and expected that these leaders by joining the Allies when the signal is given, will be saved for the reconstruction of the Indies. It is important for the future of the country that they play a part and regain the confidence of the masses. Collaboration with the Allies of the powerful Indonesian civil administration which is rooted in the multitude of Indonesian autonomous communities, will be of the greatest importance.

A gallant band of Dutch and Indonesian soldiers, almost all militia, and two Indonesian civil officials, one with his wife and daughter which held out against the Japanese for almost thirty months in the savage malarious country of Western New Guinea was liberated by a surprise dash by a small Netherlands Indies force. Their numbers had dwindled considerably by military action, lack of food and clothes, malaria and other diseases. Their stubborn resistance in holding out almost naked, sleeping in the mud, with no supplies and no medicines and constantly on the offensive, as the only means of getting munitions was by killing Japanese was an epic. Holding out was possible only through the loyalty of the native population. Other guerrilla forces, known to exist elsewhere, may yet prove their value as the nucleus for resistance in the Japanese rear.

By audacious dashes through the strongly held Japanese country to the inland camps of the internees in New Guinea several hundreds of internees have been liberated many unable to walk. The death rate in these camps was terrific and the treatment abominable.

The Japanese had completely forbidden all trade in foodstuffs. Java was cut up into eighty compartments creating a monopoly for buying cheaply in production centres and distributing at ten times the price paid in other centres.

The shortage of rice was great. On Madura rice was sold in the black market for £25 per bag. Liberated forced labourers hailing from Madura report that people there are dying on the roadside from hunger.

The Japanese monopolized the sea fishing industry and the produce of the vast salt water fishponds at Surabaya are monopolized for Japanese forces and civilians, and paid for at an absurdly low price in worthless paper money.

The Survey adds that obviously the task of relief and rehabilitation will be most difficult, and the world especially neighbours of the Indies, must realize that the greatest combined effort will be required to feed properly the teeming millions of Java. Clothes are unprocurable, women are forced to cover themselves with materials made of bark from trees. Practically all materials for production are lacking, such as sails, nets, hooks, tools, nails, and a large part of the native sailing craft have been seized. Metals and valuables have been seized. All in all the Indies have been squeezed dry.

A new section, "East and West Indian Affairs," in Holland will gather together civil personnel for the purpose of doing preparatory work in Australia for the reconstruction of the Netherlands East Indies after liberation. Besides the formation of a Volunteer Expeditionary Army, who with the Mariners, will fight in the liberation of the Netherlands East Indies, it is also intended to form a special Women's Auxiliary Corps.

BROADCASTS FROM ANKARA

I

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

By JOHN SUTHERLAND, M.A.(GLASGOW UNIVERSITY)

IT is a far cry from Rochdale in Lancashire to Ankara in Turkey but a recent event in the latter city has shown I think, that the distance is physical only and that there exist definite links in the world of social ideals.

There has ended in Ankara the First National Congress of the Turkish Co-operative Societies. Two hundred and twenty delegates from all parts of the country representing over nine hundred co-operative societies and institutions took part in the conferences which were held in the ultra modern conference hall of the Faculty of Letters of Ankara University. Among the speakers there were University Professors and high executives of the co-operative movement come together to add their comment and ideas to the pool of knowledge of co-operation. The Congress itself was the result of the joint effort of the Turkish co-operative societies and the Turkish Economic Society.

The main themes of the talks were two, firstly to increase the efficiency of the Turkish co-operatives and to amplify the part which they play in the Turkish economy and secondly—a point which should be of great interest to people in Great Britain—to discuss and find remedies for the abnormal circumstances arising out of the post war economic situation. Both of these problems were thoroughly examined by the Turkish economic experts who addressed the delegates.

And what you may ask has all this to do with Rochdale in Lancashire? Just this. The date of the first Turkish National Co-operative Congress was selected out of compliment to the centenary of the foundation of the first co-operative society in England in some ways the first in the world—the Rochdale Pioneers. There is little need to remind keen co-operative society members in Great Britain of what these Lancashire Pioneers created. In 1844 a small group of working men in Rochdale, Lancashire, perturbed at the rather low economic state in which they and their fellow workmen found themselves, put together the few pounds of ready money in their possession and purchased food and other daily necessities in bulk the profits being shared out amongst the members. Thus began in England in 1844 the movement which today represents millions of pounds invested in plant and equipment and an enormous turnover of goods for the consumer. This First National Co-operative Congress in Turkey has therefore, been held in honour of these Lancashire lads who took the first precarious steps in this great movement.

Most people in Great Britain have read in their newspapers or heard on the B B C items of information on Turkey. The general scope of the great advance which has occurred in Turkey in the last twenty-one years is known to nearly everyone. The details of this advance are however not quite so well known. And the Turkish co-operative movement is perhaps one of the least known factors in this social advance.

Though co-operation in Turkey is still, comparatively speaking in its early stages, the movement has already divided itself into several distinct branches which are

developing along well-demarcated lines. Four main lines of development have arisen. There are the agricultural credit and agricultural sales co-operatives, the handicraftsmen's co-operatives, the building co-operatives and the more usual type of consumers co-operatives.

The relative strength of the four groups may be measured by certain figures which have just recently been given out. They refer to the year 1944. Agriculture is represented by 530 credit co-operatives with 175,000 members and by 74 sales co-operatives with 85,000 members. There are 113 handicraftsmen's co-operatives with 33,000 members, 49 building co-operatives with 5,000 members and 89 consumers co-operatives with 40,000 members. Altogether there are some 900 co-operative societies in Turkey, and of these 900 societies 70 per cent. are connected with agriculture, which is, of course, by far the largest Turkish industry.

The organization of the production and marketing of her agricultural industry is a problem which has concerned Turkey for a very long time. As has been clearly demonstrated in Great Britain full utilization of the land cannot be attained without a well-organized system of agricultural credits. The farmer must be maintained in funds between the planting of the crops and the harvest.

The first attempt to organize agricultural credit in Turkey was made by the great Turkish reformer Mithat Pasha in 1867 with his foundation of a type of national savings bank which granted small loans to the peasants for the development of agricultural land. For various reasons the savings-credit bank was not very successful and it was absorbed in 1888 in the newly formed Agricultural Bank.

The modern Turkish Agricultural Credit Co-operatives were, however, founded in 1924 under a special law of the Republic and are under the supervision of the State Agricultural Bank.

Similarly, the Agricultural Sales Co-operatives were formed under a special law of the Republic to deal with problems of markets for the products of the farmers. The chief aim is the avoidance of middlemen. The co-operatives are financed by the Agricultural Bank and are controlled by the Ministry of Commerce. There are, for instance, the Figs and Raisins Sales Association in Smyrna, the Cotton Sales Association in Adana in South Turkey, the Hazel Nuts Sales Association in Giresun on the Black Sea Coast, the Silk Sales Association in Bursa in North West Anatolia and the Fruit and Vegetables Sales Association in Istanbul.

These then are the relatively large groups of State agricultural co-operatives.

The other Turkish co-operative societies have been formed under the general commercial laws of the Republic.

The handicraftsmen's co-operative societies are a very interesting development. These aim at providing at reasonable rates the raw materials of small tradesmen all over Turkey, and also at providing credit, improving the sales organization and at raising and standardizing the quality of the goods produced.

The building co-operatives resemble in some ways the building societies in Great Britain and they refer mainly to middle-class people and Government servants. They began in 1935 in Ankara and have been very successful in aiding the construction of dwelling-houses.

Lastly there are the consumers co-operatives, the type with which people in Great Britain are most familiar.

Though unsuccessful attempts had been made in Istanbul in the early years of the last war to found consumers co-operatives, it was not until 1925 that the first successful society was formed. This was in Ankara and the society was for the use of Government officials. Istanbul followed in 1931 with a similar society. Since 1925 the idea of the co-operative society dealing with retail business to the public has been gradually making headway and catching on as a valuable social institution. The value of the consumers co-operative society was learned in Great Britain also by years of experience. This hundred years of experience is now being honoured in Turkey.

So you see that the social distance between Rochdale in Lancashire and Ankara in Turkey is not so very great after all. Let us congratulate the Turkish co-operative movement on its first national congress.

II

THREE GREAT ANATOLIAN AUTHORS HOMER, HIPPONAX
AND HERODOTUS

By OLIVER DAVIES

(Read by Professor C. Parry)

From early days kings and priests have recorded their deeds and their religious rituals. But we cannot consider these records pure literature, which should be a free expression of human emotions serving no master and composed for no purpose of propaganda. The Oriental peoples who early developed the art of writing have in general been unable to attain the personal freedom which true literature needs. This sense of independence is more a European quality.

Europe probably had long ago an oral literature. Religious and epic songs were recited by priest and bard, but as they were not written we do not know what they were like. Our earliest examples of real literature come from Western Anatolia. The writers to be discussed drew much of their material from Europe, and their outlook was Western. They were uncontaminated by the Oriental spirit. Their work is sympathetic to us because like us they had discovered freedom of thought and freedom of speech. At the same time their style was simple and direct, not the involved or artificial pretentiousness of an over-ripe society.

Homer more than any other may claim to be the father of literature. He lived about 1000 B.C. probably in the neighbourhood of Izmir. His poems were based partly on traditional stories and continued to be recited for many generations until reading became sufficiently widespread to make this unnecessary. Homer wrote two great epics—the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The first described the Trojan War, the attack on the wealthy city of Troy which lies near the mouth of the Dardanelles. Later writers sometimes thought of this war as a struggle of west against east, but to Homer it was more a chivalrous contest, an epic of war and siege resembling those composed in Western Europe some 1500 years later. But Homer rises high above his successors, because of his width of human interest, and we can find in him pictures not only of warriors but of the wife whose husband is off to the war, of the battered family, of peaceful occupations in city and country. Homer's second poem, the *Odyssey*, relates the return from Troy of Odysseus, one of the heroes of the war. He had many adventures by sea and land, finally reached home and killed the suitors who for years had been worrying his wife to marry one of them. The poem has more unity of plot than the *Iliad*, but because much of it is like a fairy tale it may seem less realistic to the modern reader.

Homer had successors in Western Anatolia, some of them bards who recited epic, others lyric poets who composed hymns and songs of personal emotion. But we can better grasp Hipponax, the sixth-century poet of Ephesus. He may be called the father of satire and epigram. He lived in the docks and streets, mixed with coarse and rough pedlars, reproduced the life and language of the slums. Some well-known lines of his describe the road from the Anatolian plateau to the coast. For the trade of central Anatolia was as great then as now, and it needed its western harbours to export its products. But in those days Izmir was a small town, and the great ports were to the south, at Ephesus and Miletus, long since silted up.

Herodotus was born soon after 500 B.C. at Bodrum in South West Anatolia. Being driven out of his city for political reasons, he set himself to write the history of the Persian War, in which a great Asiatic empire for the first time was driven back from the shores of Europe. Herodotus was a man of wide intellectual curiosity. He had travelled in Asia and Africa. He retained a childlike interest in everything novel, which makes him perpetually fresh. He may describe to us the African nomads, the geography of the Black Sea, the ancient history of Egypt, and we can never fail to be interested. Nor does he exaggerate his main theme, or deck it out in the interests of national propaganda. He has been called the father of history, and he also laid the foundations of geography, anthropology and biology. Many other historians might

have learnt from him that history is no vehicle for ethics or rhetoric, but needs a lively curiosity in all that nature and man can offer. But with Herodotus practically closes the line of great Anatolian writers. Economic and political changes caused new centres of culture to arise, and Anatolia has had to wait many centuries before returning to the forefront of literary activity.

PREPARING A BASE IN INDIA

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL G. N. MOLESWORTH, C.S.I.

(Formerly Deputy Chief of the General Staff in India)

[This article was written before the collapse of Japan and was based on a somewhat similar article for publication in the United States. Thus the references to the further prosecution of the war against Japan no longer apply.—EDITOR.]

First things come first. Now that the war in Europe is over the primary military object is the destruction of the power of Japan to wage war. Until this has been done the establishment and maintenance of world peace and security can only be proceeded with in bits and pieces.

There are three main zones in the Japanese war: the Central Pacific, based on America, the South West Pacific, based on Australasia, and South East Asia based on India.

There has been from time to time a great deal of hard and unfair criticism of what, it is imagined, has been going on, or not going on, in India. This has come not only from the United States, where some degree of ignorance and ill-informed prejudice is understandable, but from London, where there are people who should know better. Some of the abuse emanates from those who do not like the British in India and some is from those who have political, personal or professional axes to grind. But the bulk comes from lack of knowledge, a general failure to realize Indian conditions of space and climate and a tendency to measure Eastern methods and mentality by Western standards. There has also been a curious reticence on the part of the Press to publish available material which, admittedly, lacks entertainment value.

It is not generally realized that, for the first two and a half years of this war India was facing westwards and was told not to look to the east. During this period, except for the first ten months, when she was told that her offers for help would not be required, she was called upon, indeed implored, to raise large numbers of fighting men and supply much material. Her contributions in troops, steel locos and wagons, textiles, garments, tentage, timber, cement, coal and raw materials saved the Middle East at a most critical period. In return for this effort she received practically nothing.

In the autumn of 1939 when war broke out, she had just embarked on a programme of defence reorganization and factory development emerging from the Chatfield Commission report. None of her orders for plant and equipment could be met, except in dribbles. To comply with requests from Great Britain for help she had to deplete what reserves she had and resort to improvisation over the whole field. When Japan unexpectedly entered the war her fat was exhausted and she had bled herself white. She was swept and garnished.

Japan attacked in December, 1941. By the spring of 1942 the Japanese flood had reached the Bay of Bengal and was lapping against the Indo-Burma frontier. The grip of the Royal Navy in the Indian Ocean was loosened—India was wide open to invasion. Few available troops remained as last available reserves had gone, hur-

redly, into the Malaya and Burma cauldrons. Such as there were were partially equipped and trained for desert warfare. The few aircraft were obsolete and unsuitable. Arsenals and depots were empty. Coastal and local naval defence were negligible. Anti aircraft artillery amounted to less than a dozen pieces. The political situation was uncertain and the people were afraid.

All India's major ports and installations were designed, developed and located for supply to the west. Defences and communications on the eastern frontier were undeveloped. For years the umbrella of Pax Britannica had covered all eastern dangers. Thus early in 1942, when India was first ordered to prepare a base for operations against Japan, she was looking in the wrong direction, and through no fault of her own. She was not the only country in such a predicament.

Everything was in the wrong place and had to be turned round and rebuilt elsewhere. In addition a vast new programme of airfield construction, for defence and offence, was required. More men had to be hurriedly raised—the numbers are now well over the two million mark—and trained and equipped to fight in an entirely strange jungle terrain. The blue-prints of the Indian Base were prepared long before South-East Asia Command was ever thought of and the work put in hand early in 1942.

The situation on the Indo-Burma frontier was stabilized. Commands in India were reorganized on an operational basis, the dreaded invasion by sea did not materialize. Throughout 1942 and 1943 in spite of delays and damage caused by the rebellion of August 1942 fierce enemy attacks in Assam and the Arakan and very little external assistance the work on the base went on. Vast essential demands for equipment and plant of all kinds were tabled, but at that time the Allied Governments had very little butter to spread on their enormous loaf.

From the Quebec Conference of the autumn, 1943, the idea of the South East Asia Command emerged. The Commander-in-Chief in India was hopelessly overloaded with local defence administration training raising new forces and preparational work on the base. American forces were already in the country giving aid by air to China. There was a clear necessity for a new Command, to plan and direct operations to the eastward to co-ordinate allied effort to co-operate with China to voice demands for material and equipment to Allied Governments and to form a strong link between commands in the Mediterranean and the South West Pacific.

Admiral Mountbatten, with a joint British American staff, and with India as his operational base was appointed Supreme Commander South East Asia. His command became, for the time being, a lodger in a country with a constitutional government and an administrative and military machine. In eastern districts operations were already in progress. The constitutional position of the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief had to be safeguarded and this was accomplished by compromise and goodwill on both sides.

Beyond the troops assigned to him most of whom were handed over by India, Admiral Mountbatten had no machinery installation or service agencies of his own. To duplicate existing machinery would have been both impossible and uneconomical. Thus all the work he has required in the way of maintenance training construction development and transportation has been and is being carried out by Indian agencies in accordance with his demands and directions. An extremely difficult and intricate constitutional and administrative problem has been solved by cordial co-operation.

When Admiral Mountbatten reached India late in 1943 he found much had been done and much still to do. India is not a country but a sub-continent. Her area of 1,800,000 square miles approaches that of Europe. From Bombay to Calcutta is further than from Marseilles to Danzig. Peshawar to Cape Comorin is further than from Liverpool to Athens.

Great Britain has 45 million people. India 400 million. In the past century, under British rule, the increase in population alone has equalled one and a half times the population of the United States. The bulk of the people are illiterate or ill-educated and belong to the class of agricultural smallholder. The average yearly income per head of population is about £4. Great wealth for the few and bare existence for the many go side by side.

India's railway, road, telegraph and telephone systems were hardly adequate for

peace traffic. Her railway mileage is about the same as that of Great Britain, though she is twenty times the size. She has one-third the number of locos and one-sixth the number of wagons. Roads are scarce, poorly metalled and deficient in major bridges. There was no available margin of food, housing, workshops, storage accommodation or hospitals.

India's heavy industries are few and undeveloped. Her industrial potential is low. The main industrial area lies in the Gangetic Plain and is exposed to air attack from the east.

On paper her man-power looks formidable. In practice a major obstacle has been the low standard of education. This has curtailed the supply of executives, supervisors and skilled workmen. Unskilled labour has always been cheap and plentiful. Thus there has never been in peace any demand for mechanical aids to replace traditional manual methods, or for the training of men to use them. Time has never been an object. The camel and the bullock cart have set the tempo of construction and production.

India's industrial and transportation systems, her methods of construction and production, her eastern mentality, her social cultural and administrative structure were not designed or geared to total war. Assistance from outside has always been an essential prerequisite. During these last three years the requirements of total war on western standards have been based on a purely inadequate eastern foundation.

In spite of this adverse background and the prevailing world conditions of shortage of material and man power, a vast aggregate of work has been done. The problems of base preparation were similar to those of the preparation of Great Britain for the European invasion on D Day 1944. But Great Britain is highly organized, compact and comparatively close to American sources of supply. India is not. Basically however requirements are the same. Ports for intake, repair, assembly and re-embarkation, areas for accommodation, training, storage, hospitals and transit, transportation, communications, fuel distribution and airfields.

In the blue prints prepared in 1942 major works for operational purposes were grouped as under:

- (a) Expansion and development of ports
- (b) Development of the internal transportation system—rail, road and inland waterway
- (c) Development of telegraphs, telephones and high speed wireless
- (d) Construction for housing, storage, hospitals, workshops, transit and training areas
- (e) Provision of pipelines, tankage, containers and distribution gear for oil, fuel and lubricants
- (f) Airfield construction
- (g) Provision of food, cold storage for perishables, canteens, welfare, water supply, sewage disposal plant, laundries, air-conditioning and electrification.

Each of these main items is large in itself and in interrelation to the others entailed most careful priority allotments for material and labour. All are closely linked with the economic life of the country, indigenous production, importation from outside, labour, distribution, inflation, lease-lend and reciprocal aid. How each item has progressed can best be indicated by a few salient facts.

Each major port was surveyed by an expert British American planning team, cognizant of the peak load required for the economic life of the country *plus* operations. Into their plan entered, also, factors of repair, handling of cargoes and distribution. For security reasons few details can be given, but the estimated additional requirements of berths, jetties, moorings, cranes, tugs, lighters and mechanical gear have been provided or are in hand. As an instance, in a single major port handling some 2½ million tons a year the balance of uncleared cargo of 96,000 tons in January, 1943, has now been practically eliminated. New bases for landing craft and their repair have been completed at a cost of some £2 million.

Ton mileage on railways has been increased by 25 per cent. overall. Civilian traffic has been reduced by 40 per cent. In Assam rail capacity has been increased from 3,000 tons a day in 1943 to 9,000 tons in January 1945, against an operational target of 7,400 tons by January, 1946. Operating methods have been revolutionized.

The Bramaputra waterway has had tonnage trebled by additional steamers, barges and new inland ports.

A combined Services and civil telecommunication scheme, at a cost of £10 million, is virtually completed. Additional wireless transmitters have been installed, and India is now the eastern hub of the global system of high-speed wireless.

In addition to tented camps, huts of timber, brick or baked mud, with connected main services, fly and mosquito-proofing have been provided for some 2 million men. In forest areas prefabrication has been largely developed. Outside operational areas over 100,000 American troops have been accommodated. Garrison hospitals have been expanded to provide beds for 5 per cent. of Europeans and 3 per cent. of Indians served. Eighteen similar hospitals, with a total of 6,000 beds, have been built for American troops. For war casualties—apart from field hospitals—14 base, 2 forward and 3 transit hospitals have been built and equipped, with convalescent depots on a scale equivalent to 20 per cent. of static hospitals.

262 million square feet of covered storage accommodation and hard standings including 64½ million square feet for American requirements have been provided. In addition, technical and repair depots have received 12½ million square feet. As an example of the continual constructional load over £34 million worth of work was completed in 11 months in 1944.

Work on airfields is represented by £40 million completed for Royal Air Force and £12 million for American Air Forces. Expressed otherwise this represents 2,200 miles of roads, 960 miles of taxi-track 50 yards wide, 310 miles of runway 50 yards wide, 144 million square feet of hardstandings, 3 million square feet of hangars, bulk of storage for 4½ million gallons of fuel and electrification of kw 64,700 capacity, 2,900 miles of 6-inch or 4 inch petrol pipeline has been laid and is in operation. These projects deliver 200,000 tons of fuel monthly in forward areas. Bulk storage has been increased to hold 230 million gallons. For forward supply India now produces 370,000 40-gallon barrels and 800,000 4-gallon drums per month.

2½ million Indian, African and Chinese and 600,000 European troops have to be fed daily. Collection, package, storage and distribution of supplies is in itself, a major project. Indigenous supplies are augmented by importation of canned goods, meat and food grains. A cold storage scheme for perishables and their transportation by rail, road and air is 50 per cent. completed. The balance awaits delivery of plant.

The services rendered to America and paid for by India under reciprocal lend lease amounted up to the end of 1944, as a rough estimate only to £60 million.

These figures are picked from a great mass of statistics. They with others represent in the aggregate a very large effort over the last 3½ years. The projects have had to be progressed simultaneously. They indicate the scope of an achievement which is not yet completed but whose magnitude has strained the economic structure of India to breaking point. The dangers to economic stability, which still persist are overloading of the transportation and distribution systems, shortage of food, grains, inflation, hoarding, lack of consumer goods and wear and tear on personnel and equipment.

These factors operate in a vicious circle. Paper money is being poured out in payment for services and material. The agricultural smallholder no longer sells the small margin of his crop as there is nothing to buy. He eats it. Speculators secrete stocks for a further rise of prices already rocketing. Military traffic on railways leaves no margin for emergent distribution of civil food. Road motor vehicles are either worn out or laid up for lack of petrol. Superior European personnel have been working at high pressure without any leave for years. There has been no recruitment to replace wastages.

Until Germany had been defeated India was very low in priority for supply of equipment and plant of all kinds. Failure to supply has gravely hampered progress. For the last three years British and American authorities in India have jointly, severally and continuously pressed their essential demands on London and Washington. In both capitals there has been suspicion of the men on the spot, resulting in procrastination, delays, failure to place contracts and loss of production. Often demands were flatly refused. The excuse was always non-availability. There was some truth in this, but not all the truth.

The effect on the British and American authorities in India of these continual wrangles, criticisms and disappointments caused justifiable irritation which seeped down to the men in the field to whom lack of facilities was most apparent. Now that European requirements have diminished, South-East Asia should get what is wanted in full measure.

The surprising element in this great work is not its size, but that it has been made possible. The unhurrying East has been hurried and is continuing to hurry. India was expected to run beneath a burden under which much stronger countries would have tottered. The task was beyond her capacity, and she received little help from outside.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Burma has been liberated by a feat of arms and organization which is astounding. For this credit is due, for it is the builders of the Indian Base who have made it possible. What has already been done in the face of every kind of obstacle, is only a foretaste of greater victories yet to come.

SIR BROJENDRA MITTER'S FIRST BUDGET

SIR BROJENDRA MITTER presided at the Budget Session of the Baroda Dhara Sabha at the end of July and announced that there would be fresh elections to that Legislature before the close of the current year. He was also able to announce that H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar was being restored to normal health by his visit to England and would be returning to the State in the early autumn.

A feature of the Budget was the virtual doubling of the allotment for the Agricultural Department. The main items of additional expenditure would be new schemes for research into the effects of different fertilizers and methods of management, a scheme for the development of the milk industry and the establishment of a central pedigree herd, new veterinary dispensaries and increased provision for agricultural model farms and institutions. Sir Brojendra also referred to the work of rural reconstruction made feasible by the Diamond Jubilee Trust Funds and the Sayaji Rao Memorial Trust Fund. Arrangements were being made for special work in the more backward areas, for scholarships to enable poor students to learn improved methods in agriculture and subsidiary industries, the further production of home-spun cloth and a grant of loans for starting small scale enterprises.

The speech showed that the food position in the State, a deficit area depending in part on external supplies, continued to cause anxiety. The Government of India allotment of food grains was far below the estimated deficit. But the *junwar* crop had been good, and by proper control over distribution it was hoped that difficulties would be overcome. A full rationing system in Baroda City would be put into effect from the beginning of August.

Turning to industrial development, the Dewan Sahab reported that the textile industry was flourishing, most of the mills working double shifts. Other industrial concerns were maintaining their standard of production. The relations between employers and employees had continued to be good, but war conditions had brought about a rise in the cost of living and Government hoped that the employers in the State would give due consideration to this fact in considering the question of the continuance of the dearness allowance.

One of the problems occupying attention was the shortage of house accommodation in urban areas. Government had a building programme ready, but the inadequacy of materials was delaying operations.

Sir Brojendra Mitter also made a statement on the much discussed question of the problem of the States too small for the organization of the life of the community on any adequate scale. He said that he had always believed that by attachment to large States small units could secure for their subjects all the advantages which the sub-

jects of the large States enjoyed. He mentioned the action of the Baroda Government in this behalf, with the twofold aim of amelioration of the condition of the people in the attached areas, and furtherance of the education of the sons and other relatives of the Chiefs and Taluqdars with a view to prepare them for their responsible position. A question under consideration was the provision of a hostel for these future leaders of the people in the attached States.

At the conclusion of the session Sir Brojendra spoke of the value of the Dhara Sabha to the Government as well as to the people. He said: "You hold up a mirror before us to show what we really are. Our Government is a living and a progressive organism. We try our best to march forward. That is our earnest endeavour. We may not satisfy everybody, we may not meet every demand, but our objective is identical—the welfare of the subjects. Sometimes, you do not realize our difficulties, not being in charge of the machinery. We endeavour to overcome these difficulties. There are various handicaps in our way. But all the time we make an earnest endeavour to serve the people for whom you are pleading. I am fully convinced that Dhara Sabha is one of the most useful institutions in the State. One thing which is noteworthy is that there is no recrimination. The whole debate takes place in an atmosphere of trust and friendliness. There is no attribution of motives on the part of members, nor is there any attempt on the part of the Government to evade responsibility or to whitewash things. That is a very helpful sign. Gentlemen, another thing that struck me was that in a small house like this no less than thirty-six non-official members took part in the debate and what they had to say was really worth saying. They have brought important points to the notice of the Government. That shows that this Dhara Sabha is a living and a progressive organism. The members of the Dhara Sabha are fully conscious of their own responsibility and duty to their constituents. On our side you must have noticed that we have tried to meet the needs of the people within the limitations imposed on us."

BIKANER'S WAR SERVICES*

Just over three months ago we met to celebrate the victory in Europe which witnessed the collapse of Nazi Germany and oppression in the West. Tonight we celebrate the downfall of the military power of Japan which, faced with the united power of the three mightiest nations of the world—two of whom she had wantonly challenged—has now at last considered discretion to be the better part of valour and has unconditionally surrendered and laid down her arms. She stands today with her pride humbled, her industrial and military strength destroyed and her dream of an Empire of the East, and perhaps of the world, totally shattered. In the early months of 1942 she had wrested from Britain and America by her treacherous attack on Pearl Harbour the mastery of the seas. Malaya was conquered. The great bastion of Singapore, which guarded the entrance to the Indian Ocean, was forced to surrender. The Philippines and the rich islands of the Dutch East Indies were conquered in lightning campaigns. Burma fell to her arms, and the fate of India itself hung in the balance. The Indian Ocean, where no enemy force had appeared for over 150 years, came under her naval power. In four months she had conquered an Empire which extended from Dutch Harbour near Alaska to Australia, and had brought under her authority a population of over 500 millions. Force and treachery had triumphed for the time. China lay staggering and ineffective. Britain, France, America and Holland had been expelled from Eastern Asia. Today that same Power which had even invaded the soil of India stands a humble suppliant before the world.

* Based on a speech by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner at the State banquet held at Lallgarh on August 18, 1945, in honour of the Allied victory over Japan.

which she had endeavoured to dominate. It is indeed a lesson that the events of the past six years have taught the world—that naked force, not backed by moral ideas, can have but a short spell of success.

In this moment of triumph let us in all humility offer our heartfelt prayers and devout thankfulness to the Almighty for this deliverance. Our thoughts on this occasion naturally turn to our beloved King Emperor who by his great courage and by *personal example during the darkest period of the Battle of Britain, and since* till the conclusion of the war, has been a source of unfailing inspiration and encouragement to all throughout the length and breadth of the Empire and indeed the world.

To Britain and her great leaders—attacked from all sides living as in a beleaguered fortress, forced by treachery and circumstances beyond her control to accept grave and humiliating losses and even temporary defeats at Hongkong, Singapore and Burma but whose courage and unflinching efforts in the face of overwhelming odds never faltered, and who with a steadfastness which has but few parallels in history considered each defeat only as a stepping stone to victory—sincere tributes from the bottom of our hearts are due.

To the organizers of victory in the East, Field Marshal Lord Wavell, General Sir Claude Auchinleck and the great Indian Army organized as a wonderful fighting force whose matchless gallantry and conduct in the field throughout this long and bitter struggle has won such universal acclaim, we owe our profound gratitude. To Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Supreme Allied Commander in South East Asia, to whom falls the glory of the reconquest of Burma and the re-establishment of naval authority in the Indian Ocean we owe a debt which only future historians will be able to assess.

It is not possible to speak in adequate terms of the prodigious effort and the magnificent part played by America and her astounding contribution towards the successful prosecution of the war. From the dark days of Pearl Harbour to the annihilating blow of the Atomic bomb the manner in which she built up, step by step the irresistible might which brought her Navy to the very doorstep of Japan and in one overwhelming blow forced her to the knees is an achievement which only the scientific genius, unequalled resources and undaunted persistence of that great people could have accomplished.

The glory of the Chinese resistance to aggression is one of the epic events of all times. Few people realize that China has been fighting a one-sided battle with Japan for over fourteen years without effective arms without modern equipment deprived of its richest Provinces, subjected to famine and other untold miseries. The achievements of China during this period will go down as the great turning point in history when by her grim and resolute resistance she saved herself and made it possible for others to save themselves and the world.

The entry of Russia into the war with all her vast resources and tried military power hastened the collapse of Japan and spared the world from further sufferings and losses.

The contribution of India to this victory is one the full extent of which may perhaps not be generally recognized. India has been the arsenal and storehouse of the East. It is from this country that supplies to China and other Eastern Fronts have been carried without interruption. It is her industries that provided many of the essential materials for the land campaigns in the East. More than all it is on her troops—her Army, her Navy, her Air Force, and her merchantmen—heroes of a hundred campaigns all over the world, that the brunt of the Burma campaign fell. The sacredness of India's soil was defended by them in the great battles of Kohima and Manipur, which have been rightly described as only second to the siege of Stalingrad, and where the foundations of later successes were laid. In numberless fights in the thick jungles of Burma under the most terrible and appalling conditions, the like of which did not probably exist in any other theatre of war, the Indian troops taught the Japanese a lesson which they are not likely to forget soon.

The part played by the troops of the Indian States in these campaigns is no less deserving of praise. It is a matter of pride and gratification to us all that side by side with their comrades-in-arms of the Indian Army and other Imperial and Allied troops

they fought with the utmost valour ever in the vanguard and covered themselves with glory To all those who fought so bravely and fell so gallantly we offer our solemn homage.

I may at this stage allude to Bikaner's own share in this victory No less than three units of the State Army proceeded on active service outside the State. The Bijej Battery has been in the thick of the fight from the days of the second Burma Campaign. They won laurels in Arakan where surrounded by the Japanese, they along with other troops fought heroically in the best martial traditions of the State. As part of the Divisional Artillery of the famous 7th Indian Division, the Bijej Battery took part in the historic battles of Kohima and Mahipur and in the driving of the Japanese all down the Gangaw valley and across the Irrawaddy In these operations they achieved further fame and glory and held aloft the standard of Bikaner in a way which will be a source of pride to myself the Bikaner Army and to everyone in Bikaner at all times

Our other units also contributed their share to the final collapse of the enemy The Ganga Ruala was the first unit of the Indian States Forces to leave India and in fulfilling a strategically important rôle in guarding Aden gave an excellent account of themselves and won high praise The Sadul Light Infantry also proceeded overseas on active service and did excellent work in the Paiforce where they played an equally vital role in keeping the supply routes to Russia open Constant convoys of war supplies of every description were streaming day and night along this important line of communication through South Persia and the Caucasus I myself had the privilege of seeing this with my own eyes when I was with the infantry—a spectacle to be seen to be believed

Thus apart from the Western Desert I am happy to feel that I had the opportunity of being with my gallant troops both in the arid regions of the Middle East and in the jungle-clad hills of the Assam Burma Front

Besides these direct military services the contribution of the State to the successful prosecution of the war covers a wide range but I will here refer only to some of the important directions in which the State has attempted to do its bit

The 49 Bikaner G P T Company over 400 strong was raised in the record time of two weeks, in addition to the 2nd and 3rd Infantry Battalions, the Infantry and Artillery Training Centres and the Guard Battalion for the Prisoners of War Camp As compared to the pre war strength of a little over 1800 our Army has almost trebled its strength. The total recruitment from the State through local as well as British Indian Agencies came to over 9360 men besides a large number who have joined the Indian Army direct.

The monetary contributions from the State from my Privy Purse, and from the members of my family and others amounted to nearly 15 lakhs of rupees in addition to the annual military expenditure of the State which rose from 9 lakhs to 33 lakhs or over 300 per cent in the present war War fêtes and lotteries were organized to raise funds for war purposes A sum of Rs 62 lakhs was invested in the Government of India War Bonds, etc besides as much as 4½ crores or 45 millions invested in other loans and securities of the Government of India This also includes contributions from State servants

It is not my intention to go into further details tonight to give you a complete picture of Bikaner's share in the prosecution of the war but sufficient I trust has been said to show how wholehearted has been the effort, and how sustained has been the zeal which this State has evinced in the cause of victory Not for one moment did our confidence in final victory weaken or our enthusiasm diminish The brief survey of the war effort of the State since the outbreak of hostilities six years ago which I have just given, will I trust I can justifiably say with all modesty and legitimate pride, amply demonstrate that the record of this State, as in all previous wars in which the Empire was involved has indeed been most outstanding Willing co-operation in every manner possible and to the utmost of their capacity and resources has in an especial measure been the creed of the Rulers and State of Bikaner, unfaltering loyalty, devotion and service to the Person and Throne of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor are their watch-words, and I trust that the verdict of history will be that in this war too we in Bikaner, in keeping with those high tradi-

nons, have not been found lacking in rendering the utmost possible service within our power to our beloved King Emperor

As you are aware, my elder son, Maharaj Kumar Karni Singh, with his grandfather, and my second son, Maharaj Kumar Amar Singh, with me proceeded to the Middle East both when under 18 years of age. It is therefore a matter of special but natural pride to me that all the male members in three successive generations of my family have proceeded to the Front in the same war, which I believe is a unique record in the annals of the Princely Houses of India. Both His late Highness my revered father and myself—the only two members of our family who were of age then—were privileged to place our personal services at the disposal of the King-Emperor at the very beginning of the war and even earlier at the time of the Czecho-Slovakian crisis in 1938. Thus I and my family are happy in the thought that in this war also, as ever, we can legitimately claim to be second to none in the service of our beloved King Emperor

VICTORY CELEBRATIONS IN MYSORE

Victory celebrations on an extensive scale to mark the defeat of Germany, were held all over Mysore State. Sunday, May 13 was observed as a day of thanksgiving and prayers and religious services were conducted in temples, mosques and other places of worship. Poor people were fed and sweets were distributed to school children in a number of towns. For meeting the cost of these celebrations in the several districts, Government sanctioned a sum of Rs. 24,000. Public meetings were held throughout the State at which speeches were delivered by leading officials and public men, the most impressive of these meetings was the one held under the auspices of the National War Front in Bangalore City on May 14, at which *Pradhanasiraman* Mr. N. Madhava Rau C.I.S. Dewan of Mysore, presided. It was a very well attended meeting composed of officials, military personnel and prominent citizens. At the commencement of the meeting the Dewan read an inspiring message from His Highness the Maharaja when the whole audience remained standing. The message was as follows:

The purpose of the meeting in which you are assembled today is to celebrate the collapse of Germany. This collapse represents not merely the military defeat of an enemy but the triumph of humanity over inhumanity. We know only too well what peril threatened civilization during the last six years, what misery and privation people have undergone in many countries of the world and what sacrifices the Allied Nations have made to provide men and material for bringing about the defeat of the enemy. On an occasion like this we cannot but recall India's proud share in the winning of victory. But the feeling uppermost in us at the moment is not one of undue exultation but of thankfulness. Our first duty on this occasion is to express our thanks to the great military forces of the Allied Nations for their achievements which are without parallel in history and to the people of all ranks in the Allied Countries for their fortitude and self-sacrifice, which show the heights to which righteous men and women can rise in spite of adversity.

Let us proceed in this spirit of thankfulness to celebrate the victory that has now been won and address ourselves to the task that still lies ahead. The war against Japan remains to be concluded and calls for an equally great effort on the part of everyone. The successes achieved in Burma and in the Pacific give us cause for hope that the day is not far off when Japan will share the fate of its erstwhile partners. We may look forward with confidence to meeting again at no distant time to celebrate final victory and the return of peace.

The meeting was then addressed by *Rajasevasakta* A. R. Wadia, Mr. Devudu Narasimha Sastry and Mr. Mirza Azizulla Beig, who in their speeches emphasised

the significance of the total defeat of Germany on the Continent of Europe and how it was an occasion for supreme joy and thankfulness that by God's grace the efforts of the Allies to bring the war in the West to a successful conclusion had been crowned with complete victory. They also stressed that this was no time to relax efforts as the war against Japan was not yet over and all effort must now be concentrated until similar victory was gained on the Eastern Front.

In winding up the proceedings, the Dewan said

We have listened to an inspiring message from His Highness the Maharaja. This was followed by interesting and thoughtful speeches by three of our leading citizens. They have impressed on us that our feeling of joy over victory won in Europe must be tempered by a realization that the time has not come to relax effort, as the war in Asia has still to be won. It will be won of course, and sooner perhaps than most of us expect. But victory by itself is not sufficient. The anxieties of the world will not cease until righteous peace is inviolably established among the nations. And the most difficult task of all will still remain of reshaping our own economic and social life, so that greed, hate and strife which war time conditions have accentuated in some respects shall give place to harmony, contentment and progress. If the recollection of the sacrifices made by men of all nations on the battlefields, of Indians no less than others, can chasten our thoughts and inspire us to a higher sense of duty towards our fellow men, if we can learn from the soldiers returning to their homes the art of living a disciplined corporate life, some good will have come out of the misfortunes of war. Let us make this a day not only of thanksgiving but of dedication to the great purposes of life with charity in our hearts and faith in the future.

Dr. T. C. M. Royan, Chairman of the National War Front, Bangalore proposed the vote of thanks.

TIMOTHY RICHARD, MISSIONARY AND MANDARIN A CENTENARY TRIBUTE

By HENRY J. COWELL, F.R.S.A., F.R.S.L.

Was there ever any missionary other than Timothy Richard who was a mandarin? Was there ever a mandarin other than he who was also a missionary? And not in these respects only was Timothy Richard exceptional. He was essentially a man with vision, but he was no visionary, he had great dreams, but he was no mere dreamer; he was both a seer and a statesman and, it is said, the most disinterested adviser the Chinese people ever had. Living a strenuous and many-sided life for well over seventy years, he was sound in body, clear in mind, sympathetic and courteous in spirit. The great Lord Shaftesbury once said: "I think a man's religion should enter into every sphere of his life and rule his conduct in every relation." That ideal was embodied in the life and work of Timothy Richard.

In a brief note prepared by himself he sets forth nine aspects of his marvellous career: (1) Public almoner in the greatest famine in history, (2) lecturer to mandarins, (3) editor (daily, weekly and monthly journals), (4) publisher (with his colleagues) of more than 300 books, (5) reformer (appointed as one of the Emperor Kiang Hsu's advisers), (6) arbitrator chosen by the Chinese plenipotentiaries to settle affairs after the Boxer massacres, (7) educator (founder of the Modern Imperial University in Shansi), (8) mandarin of the first grade (appointed religious adviser to the Chinese Government, which further conferred upon him the Double Dragon decoration), (9) author and historian, his publications in English including *Historical Evidence of Christianity*, *Conversion by the Million* (two volumes), *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism* and as translations, *The Awakening of Faith in New Buddhism*, *Guide to Buddhahood*, *A Mission to Heaven*. With these nine occupations in view it is hardly surprising to find the record, "Recreations—none."

When past seventy years of age he published (in 1916) his reminiscences. This book, bearing the title of *Forty-five Years in China* is dedicated thus: "To the Baptist Missionary Society, London, in whose service I have been since 1869. To the Christian Literature Societies of Scotland, England, and China, under whose auspices I have been engaged in special literary work since 1891. To the many individual friends in England, America, and China who have generously aided me all my life. This volume, which is mainly a record of efforts to establish the Kingdom of God among a fourth of the human race, is gratefully and affectionately dedicated by the author."

These reminiscences, he writes, tell of sympathetic efforts made to guide the spiritual leaders of China to a vision of the Kingdom of God. These efforts have meant the uplifting of China through various ways through better religion, better science, better means of communication, better international commerce, the institution of modern schools and colleges, the founding of a modern Press, the establishment of new industries and manufactures over a country as large as the whole of Europe. In all these departments I have taken some share.

Born on October 10 1845, at Ffaldybrenin, a small village in Carmarthenshire he was the youngest child of a family of nine. His father who was not only a farmer and a blacksmith but a narrator of stories, a veterinary surgeon, and a bone-setter, served as secretary and deacon of two small Baptist churches and was often called in as a peacemaker. As to his mother, a great Welsh preacher declared: "We never met her equal for guilelessness and sweetness of disposition nor her match in the making of pancakes." The children had to fend for themselves as soon as they could and as best they could. Timothy denied almost every opportunity that comes the way of present-day boys, had to gain his education in any way he could. One of these ways was to borrow every book that the village could produce. If that does not sound very promising, we may recall that Abraham Lincoln was brought up—or brought himself up—on three books: his mother's Bible, a tattered copy of Shakespeare, and a borrowed copy of a *Life of George Washington*.

During the great Revival which swept over Northern Ireland, Wales, Scotland and Norway and Sweden from 1858 to 1860 the lad confessed his faith in Christ and was baptized with fifty-one others in the open river, he being the first to be immersed. Shortly afterwards he attended a service at which the text for the discourse was, "To obey is better than sacrifice." During the whole of the sermon he felt that a voice was calling him to go abroad as a missionary. He preached his first sermon to a handful of worshippers in a village chapel and thereafter went to the ministerial training college at Haverfordwest. At length he was called up to be examined by the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society. The young man was shy in manner and slow in speech, and the fame of the great men of the denomination made him nervous. Almost he was turned down but before this actually happened the lad was asked: "Suppose we reject you, Mr. Richard, what will you do?" "Go to China," was the astonishing reply. "But how?" "Swim," was the laconic answer. Whereupon the impressed Committee accepted him and thus cleared the way for one of the greatest missionaries of the Baptist or any other society to enter upon his epoch-making and enduring work.

Richard sailed for China on November 17 1869 and reached Shanghai on February 12 1870. His life in China falls into two main chapters: first, twenty-two years' evangelism in Shantung and Shansi; second, twenty-three years' literary work in Shanghai. Large-hearted sympathetic and courteous he found himself equally at home in the cottage of the peasant or the palace of the ruler.

For over forty years testifies the Rt. Hon. John Jordan: "Timothy Richard was an outstanding personality in China, one who gained the respect and esteem of the Chinese people in a degree which it has been given to few foreigners to attain."

A pioneer and a prophet Timothy made a sympathetic study of all the Chinese religions. So much was he in advance of the general missionary opinion of his time that he was not only misunderstood but even accounted unorthodox by some. He believed in personal contacts with individuals, and sought everywhere to make friends with seekers after God.

From 1876 to 1878 he did magnificent relief work, first in Shantung and then in

Shansi, in a terrible famine which caused the death of 15,000,000 people. It was this marvellous humanitarian work which, thus early in his missionary career, led to his name becoming a household word throughout China.

In October 1891, he became secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese (later known as the Christian Literature Society of China). This office he held for a quarter of a century, and by means of it he became the interpreter of East to West and of West to East and a link between the old and the new in China.

Great as were his achievements, his personality was greater than his work. Differ as one might from his plans and schemes, all who knew him acknowledged the charm and beauty of his character. To the end he was a learner. He did what any one man could do to remould and remake China.

The Boxer troubles in 1900 arose out of ignorance, prejudice, superstition and a sense of grievance on the other hand, and out of foreign aggression (chiefly German) on the other. Hundreds of missionaries and thousands of converts laid down their lives. Enormous damage was done to property. Yu Hsueh, the Manchu Governor of Shansi, himself superintended the massacre of forty-six missionaries including women and children.

In 1901 Richard was invited to assist in the settlement of the Shansi troubles. Roman Catholics had made large demands for compensation, but the Protestant societies decided that the price of their missionaries' lives was beyond computation in dollars. So Timothy told the plenipotentiaries that the Protestant missions would not sell the lives of their missionaries for money. Yet a great crime had been committed for which some outstanding act of acknowledgment and reparation should be made. Timothy proposed that a fine should be imposed upon the Province of Shansi, the money to be devoted to the establishment of a university on Western lines, to be situated in Tai yuan fu for the education in modern knowledge of the ablest young men of the Province. The proposal was adopted at once by the plenipotentiaries to be carried out at a cost of some £60,000. They placed the appointment of the professors, the arranging of the curriculum and the administration of the funds of the proposed university in Richard's hands for a period of ten years. He secured as Principal Rev. Moir B. Duncan of the Baptist Missionary Society in Shansi, a man of fine spirit of great enthusiasm, inexhaustible energy, and well acquainted with the language and the character of the people.

The architecture of the new building was simple and Chinese in style. The students came from all parts of the Province. Successful students were sent to England for a further five years' course of study.

In 1910, while on a visit to Shansi, he decided not to await the full term of ten years before handing over the institution. Being convinced that modern education had now taken deep root in the Province, he resigned his Chancellorship, the provincial authorities consenting to take over full responsibility. At that time there were seven foreign professors with fourteen Chinese professors and teachers.

Great as was Timothy's fame throughout China, it must not be thought that his manifold activities were strictly limited to that great land. I give a brief outline of some of his far-reaching travels and experiences. He did not take his first furlough until the autumn of 1884. He took with him his wife and four children. While in England he decided to study science and took a course of electrical engineering at South Kensington. He also crossed to Berlin and to Paris to interview the respective Ministers of Education for Germany and France. He told the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society that he felt the greatest need of the world was that the so-called Christian Governments should be converted to real Christianity.

His second furlough began in the spring of 1896. On the way to England he visited Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta, Benares, Agra, Delhi, Marseilles, and Paris. Returning to China in 1897, he travelled by way of the United States and Canada.

Early in 1900 he went to New York, to participate in the World Missionary Conference. At Boston, in May of that year, he addressed the Twentieth Century Club on the situation in China, and he was advised to get in touch with the U.S. Government. The very next day he started for Washington, where he saw the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the President of the Senate, and the Chairman of the Chamber

of Commerce. All this was with the object of inducing the United States Government to intervene in China to avert the Boxer catastrophe, but was without avail.

In May, 1903, he visited Japan, where he had talks with the Minister of Education, the President of the Imperial University, the President of the House of Peers, and other leaders.

Early in 1905 he arrived in England for a third furlough. He took part in the first Congress of the Baptist World Alliance, held in London in July of that year. He also undertook activities in connection with the Peace Movement, including participation in a Peace Congress held at Lucerne in 1906. He returned to China by way of the United States, and called upon President Theodore Roosevelt at the White House.

In January, 1908, he revisited Japan and had an interview with Prince Ito. On the same occasion he met Count Okuma, who had set up a university in Tokyo. Of the 7,000 students 700 were Chinese, and the Count invited his visitor to address these young men.

In the winter of that same year (1908) he paid a visit to Korea, to be present at the opening of the new Y.M.C.A. building in Seoul. Japanese and Koreans both sought his presence in Korea, and he was asked to do what he could to pour oil on the troubled waters. The inaugural meetings of the Y.M.C.A. covered three days and Timothy spoke on each day being put down to speak directly after Prince Ito on the third day.

In May 1910, addressing the annual meeting of the Peace Society in London, he advocated a plan for the federation of the ten leading nations of the world on the basis of reciprocity and equal opportunity. Later in the same year he was present at the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh, under the chairmanship of Dr. John R. Mott.

In August, 1914, Dr. Richard, who had lost his first wife (Miss Mary Martin) in July 1903, married Dr. Ethel Tribe, of Bristol, who had been a medical missionary of the London Missionary Society for nearly twenty years. Four months later Dr. and Mrs. Richard spent two months in Java, where many Chinese had settled.

Richard was in direct contact on more than one occasion with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who had become an active revolutionary in Canton but on the failure of his conspiracy had to flee first to Japan and then to the U.S.A. While in England in 1896 Dr. Sun was kidnapped and imprisoned for some days in the Chinese Legation in London. After his release he called on Dr. Richard and voiced his gratitude for all that the missionary had done in China, both by famine relief and by literature.

When on his way to America in 1900 Dr. Richard found that Dr. Sun was living in Yokohama. Timothy was told by Dr. Sun that he had definitely made up his mind to advocate revolution pure and simple, whereupon the missionary said they would have to part company, as his own belief was in enlightenment by literature.

When the Revolution first broke out in China Dr. Sun was in England. He hurried back to China, and a Republican Conference held at Nanking elected Dr. Sun as Provisional President and Yuan Shih-kai as Premier. Three months later Dr. Sun resigned in favour of Yuan Shih-kai. For Army reform Yuan Shih-kai decided to embark upon a large foreign loan. Against this action Sun Yat-sen protested. Dr. Richard was asked to see Dr. Sun and advise him not to send his protest abroad. When Richard called on Sun he was in the act of reading a proof of his protest. He handed it over to the missionary and asked him what he thought of it. Richard begged Sun not to publish it, but this counsel he would not accept. This seems to have been the last occasion on which the two men were in personal contact.

Early in 1916 Dr. Richard's health became so precarious that it was considered advisable for him to visit England once more. He left Shanghai on May 20, travelling by way of Canada and arriving at Liverpool on July 10. Four days later Aberystwyth University conferred upon him its doctorate of laws and logic. He had already been accorded the D.D. by Georgia University U.S.A. in 1895 and the Litt.D. by Brown University U.S.A., in 1900. It was the time of the first Great War, and he settled first in a tiny flat in Southampton Row, Holborn. It was here that he received me in the month of November. "I have been a pioneer all my life," he said to me. "I felt that nowhere had his catholicity of spirit and of outlook been more in

evidence than in his great work in association with the Christian Literature Society of China. I asked him, "What led you to this particular field of activity?" Why he replied, "because I realized that China so badly needed light—intellectual and spiritual enlightening." He himself he added had been responsible for the publication of no less than a hundred books in the Chinese language. In everything we translate, he said, we have a practical and definite aim. Of one book, Mackenzie's *History of the Nineteenth Century* a million copies in Chinese had been issued. The books translated and issued included Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Benjamin Kidd's *Social Evolution*, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*, William Law's *Serious Call*, *Chronicles of the Schonberg-Cotta Family* and many another.

Then Dr. Richard put a question to myself. Do you know that ten years ago God offered peace to the world? The leading non-Christian nations were ready to accept it, and the sad thing is that the Christian nations would not listen to the Divine voice. Today they are reaping the consequences.

The need for world peace, he went on, had come home to me vividly in 1905, after the war between Russia and Japan. I saw the tragedy of two foreign countries fighting in Chinese territory, and then it was that God seemed to indicate to me a way of deliverance. I went to Peking where I knew every member of the Government. They asked me to see Prince Chung and tell him of my scheme for the federation of the ten leading nations of the world. I pointed out that if federation was accomplished the economies effected in expenditure on armies and navies would enable all kinds of national and international improvements to be gone on with. Prince Chung expressed his approval, and I then asked him if he would pledge himself to practical action. Yes, I will, he answered. Then I saw the Prime Minister of Japan and a Turkish Prince, each of whom gave similar pledges. At the Peace Conference of Lucerne the scheme was enthusiastically approved for submission to the next Hague Conference. Then came the tragedy. The Kaiser's representatives occupied two days trying to prove that might was right, and so the scheme of world federation for universal peace was shelved. Now the nations are paying the dread penalty.

As to China itself, he added, the miracles of God there in the last fifty years have been wonderful. The watchword in my work has been co-operation and federation. The influence of Christianity has profoundly permeated the whole of China. Thirty years ago the representatives of Christianity were despised and hated. Today churches are open, schools open, colleges open, hospitals open, and Christian teachers and doctors are welcome in every Province.

Even then, at over seventy the veteran missionary did not count his contribution to life and to the world as complete. Are you going back to China? I enquired, scarcely anticipating an affirmative reply. I hope so, he answered. China is in a sad way, and I feel there are still things that I can do and want to do for her.

When I saw him for the second time a few days later Dr. Richard took the proceedings into his own hands and invited me to listen to a talk by himself concerning

Seekers after God and the Highest in China. It had been his custom to look for the best in men and in their religious beliefs; he had always accepted the Pauline affirmation that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him, although he also believed that the contact with God and the consciousness of God that Christianity brings, and gives, has a dynamic that no other religion possesses or is able to give.

In August, 1917, he secured a small house at Golders Green, and here his health improved. His mornings were spent in reading and writing. Always he was pondering over new ways of helping on great causes. He lived on to see the Armistice in November 1918, and became so much stronger that he was able not only to attend meetings but to take part in them.

Early in 1919 he decided to return to China, and actually booked a passage for the early autumn, but in April a surgical operation became necessary, and on the 19th of that month his great heart ceased to beat. He was seventy-three years of age, and in the fiftieth year of his service for China. China, indeed, had been *in* his heart and *on* his heart.

Timothy Richard was a man of genius with more than a touch of what is called

the cosmic consciousness. His heart was set upon God and the love of God, but just as much upon humankind. He called every man his brother. There was no other missionary just like him—he was in a class quite by himself.

China seems to exercise a marvellous attraction over those who give themselves wholeheartedly to it. Sir Meyrick Hewlett, writing upon *Forty Years in China*, says

Over and over again I have asked myself why I loved China so deeply. I found a strange fascination in memories of Chinese surroundings. Old photographs and pictures of China never ceased to delight me. More and more I realized that this fascination is not confined to the scenes in which I spent such happy years, it is heightened by memories of the people among whom I lived and whom I loved.

In the Chinese people I found something really great. I found patience and courage, and I never ceased to marvel at their simple attachment to Nature and the soil. They seem to realize that simple joys are lasting and they seem to enjoy eternal childhood. They have the urge to work, their desire to live is indomitable and they possess a consistent fund of good humour.

I look with confidence to the day when the British Commonwealth of Nations and the oldest civilization in the world will march side by side, promoting the peace both love so dearly and ensuring justice and freedom for the millions who can be so happy and prosperous and contented under good rule.

Dr W. E. Soothill, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford formerly President of the Shanxi Imperial University states: No foreigner, missionary or layman has been so universally known in China as Timothy Richard. In every province, in every city and in towns and villages without number throughout the land his name was known and respected, his writings were read and his love for China recognized and appreciated. His soul refused to harbour pettiness, meanness or unkindness. His ambition for the welfare not only of the Chinese but of the human race knew no bounds. Courteous and considerate to all generous and magnanimous, he nevertheless possessed undaunted courage and resourceful energy. He had the knack of finding the good in every man. Had he died in China his funeral would have been the greatest of any foreigner who has ever lived in that land. But—he is not dead—he lives in memories and lives and deeds of men and women who carry the torch they lighted at his.

A Welsh friend of mine whom I consulted concerning this tribute suggested not simply that Dr Richard was essentially a characteristic Welshman, but that he became an outstanding missionary in China in particular, and in the mission field in general just because of those characteristics in his make up which were definitely Welsh.

These distinctive qualities, writes my friend which T. R. revealed in their entirety throughout his long and distinguished career, are characteristic of the Welsh at their best—and only of the Welsh! Every nation has a distinct contribution to make to the world and the one made by T. R.—a representative Welshman—was gathered from his early Welsh environment, and also from the qualities he inherited from his parents. In his father's smithy he undoubtedly made personal contacts with the Welsh intellectuals of the whole district, who made the smithy a centre for discussion on every conceivable subject. Moreover, since his father was recognized locally as a peacemaker, T. R. must have been tremendously impressed by his father's wise judgments on all occasions. Furthermore, the transparent Christian character and sweet disposition of his wonderful mother with her thoroughness in little things—shown in the excellent quality of her unbeatable pancakes—must have had an indescribable influence upon T. R.'s character during his impressionable years. Undoubtedly Wales, a land of religion and song and a culture all her own, gave this seriously bent son of hers a very solid foundation for the colossal work which he was destined to accomplish.

My Irish friend, Dr W. Y. Fullerton, who knew Dr Richard well rightly spoke of him as a great prophetic figure, childlike, simple-hearted, whole-souled, broad-minded.

Yet one more friend of mine—this time an Englishman—wrote: "Life is not laid down upon the lines of being ministered unto. It is the outgoing life, the life that grows by giving, the life that blesses by the sheer energy and brightness and beauty of

its own activity that wins the secret of greatness, of self-possession, happiness, and serenity. It was in ministering—not in being ministered unto, that Timothy Richard found such greatness, happiness and serenity.

For myself, I share at least one humble experience with Dr. Richard: each of us in our youthful days scared the birds from attacking the corn crops of the countryside. I recall with gratitude the two occasions on which we met and it greatly rejoices my heart that I have lived to be invited to do him honour by testifying to his greatness and his goodness. We do indeed praise God for the witness and the fruitfulness of his life and labour.

SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE

III—CHARLES LAMB

• BY RANJEE G. SHAHANI

1920 KARACHI. Lovely spring weather. The flowers glowed like jewels. I espied a gorgeous butterfly, and began to chase it. Soon I found myself in the shrubbery. I was about to go ahead quite recklessly when I saw something that halted me momentarily. Father Boswin, the terrible Principal of our school, was sitting on a bench assiduously trying to catch a sunbeam with his solar hat. Not succeeding, he became red as a poppy, and nearly ruined his headgear in his rage. Then glaring at the sky he muttered something that sounded very like 'Damn!' I laughed—inwardly, of course—and promised myself some fun at the expense of the 'White Devil', as we nicknamed our ferocious head teacher. Suddenly he saw me.

What are you doing there? he roared. Come here.

There was nothing for me to do but to face the music.

"My order is that students may not enter these grounds," he began chewing each word. "I suppose that means nothing to you?" Well, I shall have to teach you a lesson. You are the funniest idler in India.

Yes, Father.

Who asked you to speak? What, in the name of thunder and lightning, were you doing here?

I said nothing.

Why don't you answer? Haven't you got a tongue in your head? He was very angry. The veins in his neck stood out.

I was looking for a butterfly, please, Father.

My words surprised him. During class hours? he fired, after a while.

It was so beautiful, Father.

He gazed at me for a long long time and then said almost in a whisper: Did you catch it?

No, Father.

He smiled enigmatically. Follow me, he said.

I resigned myself to a thrashing.

He took me to his private residence where the reverend Fathers lived, and asked me to wait in the hall. It was a shadowy, whispering place quite in keeping with my gloomy thoughts. Soon he came back carrying a book. Take this, he said in a curiously soft voice, it is a gift. Read it and cherish it. One day you will understand why I gave it to you. Then, as though to himself, he said something in Latin. I caught only the words: *et mentem mortalia tangunt*.

I went away, sorely puzzled.

• • • • •
Anyway, that is how I came to know the work of Charles Lamb. And now years later, I repeat: *Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*. There, to my mind, lies the secret of the undying appeal of Elia.

He is not one of the giants of literature. One does not think of him in that way. He cannot guide us in our journey through the Inferno or the Paradiso. For that we have to go to the greater masters, Eastern or Western. But he is, in some ways, nearer and dearer to us than many a mightier artist. He is one of us, yet how much more!

The hues of earthquake and eclipse are not to be found in his writings. Indeed, great matters—social, political, moral, or religious—leave him cold. He is not even an idealist in the sense that Wordsworth and Shelley were. Yet, strangely enough, he dates less than any of his more imposing contemporaries. Why? Simply because ideas and ideologies change with the changing times, but the truth of human nature remains for ever the same. Lamb sees life in its organic wholeness. He tells us of its outward manner in connection with its inner temper. He ignores the big issues that worry everybody and concentrates on the tremendous trifles in which there is much of the whole woeful heart of things. The still, sad music of humanity is ever present with him. Not only that. He is a friend of animals: think of his *Pity's Gift*. Yet, in spite of the wail that rises all round him, he remains blithe. True existence on earth is a gloomy affair, but it has its compensations. Old books, old pictures, old places—how ravishing! By valuing the past delicately, more and more exquisitely, Lamb seems to be saying we can make it the divine present. He teaches us how to make the best of life. Because he speaks the language of pure humanity he often seems to utter somewhat above a mortal mouth. The praise of beggars, the cries of London, the peculiarities of actors just past their prime, the spots in town where the country still lingered on, as though loath to quit—these and similar things possess us and generate a genuine and generous emotion.

The fact is Lamb is not a writer whom we merely admire. Sooner or later we come to love him. Why? Because the man was not smaller than his writings. There is no gulf between what he was and what he did. His work is the incarnation, not the expression, of his spirit. He did not write with his brain like some clever people before or after him, but with his temperament. Instinct was his guide.

Here he was very wise. Just reflect on this. Pavlov is reported to have said a little before his death: Human thought appears before us draped as it were in three coverings. The first is the most modest, but at the same time the nearest to truth—this covering is movement. The second or middle covering is more ornate—this consists of written signs and graphic signs and graphic symbols. Finally the third is the most luxuriant, *but also the most superficial*—this is the covering of verbal signals, the symbolism of speech, which is removed from the immediate expression of thought by both the precedent. This is only a learned way of saying not only that speech was given to man to hide his thoughts but that thought also is a disguise for feeling.

Lamb knew this truth. Unlike Coleridge, he avoided squandering his powers in brooding over the Ultimate Mystery. That seemed to him a futile occupation—like trying to press chaos into a tumbler, the tumbler of the human mind. He wrote as he felt, or, rather, as the spirit moved him. It is his temperament that bewitches us.

The first thing to remember about him is that he had suffered. It is my belief that a man who has not gone through the fire of anguish and heartache cannot write anything memorable. He cannot even be a great humorist. For only he who has probed into the substance of tears can understand the significance of laughter. Kierkegaard too says the same thing. The more one suffers the more, I believe, has one a sense of the comic. It is only by the deepest suffering that one acquires true authority in the use of the comic, an authority which by one word transforms as by magic the reasonable creature one calls man into a caricature.

But pain did not sour Lamb. It deepened him. He had a kindly eye for humanity. He thought that men were, after all, not so bad. Did he not say to some friend that he could not hate anyone whom he had known? How true that is, and how far does it go! I am inclined to think that ignorance is the Devil of the modern world.

Lamb never ran away from reality, however atrocious it was. He always faced it in a positive way. So through personal experience through pain and sorrow, he learned what his inmost attitude to things was. This was a form of meditation, a truly spiritual exercise. It freed his spirit from the bonds of time and circumstance.

To call this a Nirvanic state would be foolish but I will say that it was not entirely different from that blessed condition. Thackeray called Lamb 'Saint Charles'. In saying this, he was wiser than he knew.

To prove, to conclude, to lay down the law—that was not Lamb's way in any thing. He only believed in hints, surmises, intuitions. He thought it impertinent to make assertions about reality. He has described his attitude beautifully somewhere, but I cannot put my finger on the passage at the moment. No matter. The point is, he is wiser than most philosophers. He realized that the wonder like the beauty of life depends on the absence of a solution. If we knew why, they would become mechanical effects. That is why any solution seems inadequate, and our hope must be that it truly is so. Lamb suggests the inmost core of things in asides by the way, as it were, and playfully. In fact, he always offers far more than he had promised. There was something of the Quaker in him. The Light of God within each man. So he awaited on the silence, which whispered a mighty secret or two to him. In this way he learned—what we must learn too, especially we Indians—that the surest method of achieving divineness here and now is to remain imperfectly human. Yes Pascal was right. *Qui fait l'ange, fait la bête*. Lamb drank too much, smoked too much, and had other faults and foibles, but what of that? He was still and had the strange power of instilling stillness into others.

Value was for him not a part nor even a quality as weight and colour are. The estimator, he thought, was as important as the source of the value. Logic without affections and the senses without coherence both failed. A person was necessary before impersonal value could be perceived.

Such was his fundamental belief. So with the self as a focal point he explored the not-self. Is there a better way of discovering truth? The I is our only voucher for reality—including nescience.

But perhaps I am going beyond my depth. I have touched on a few of the characteristics of Lamb. These must suffice for the present. Let me say a word or two about his many-sided output.

* * * * *

Distinguished critics have praised the verses of Lamb. I am unable to agree with them. The *Old Familiar Faces*, which is often cited is scarcely a poem at all. The metre halts, stumbles, there is no touch of magic in it, but it is speech naked human speech such as rarely gets through the disguise of rhymed numbers. The truth has to be faced. Lamb with his perfect sincerity, his deliberate and quite natural simplicity and with all that strange tragic material within and about him, was unable to work directly upon that material in the imaginative way of the poet, unable to transform its substance into a creation in the form of verse. He knew this himself for he wrote to Wordsworth: 'I reckon myself a dab at prose—verse I leave to my betters'.

Lamb the ostensible poet is, not to mince words, a bore but, odd as it may seem, he is a true poet in a larger and deeper sense. He is even a lyricist. He creates beauty out of reality, the reality of his own spirit, the only reality that is not, in the last analysis, a deception or a mirage. His best poetry is to be found in his essays where he speaks from an unashamed heart. Take this passage from *Oxford in Vacation*:

Antiquity! thou wondrous charm, what art thou? that, being nothing art everything! When thou wert, thou wert not antiquity—then thou wert nothing, but hadst a remoter antiquity, as thou calledst it, to look back to with blind veneration thou thyself being to thyself flat, jejune modern! What mystery lurks in this retroversion? or what half Januses are we that cannot look forward with the same idolatry with which we for ever revert! The mighty future is nothing, being everything! the past is everything being nothing!

That's the sort of strain—not for what it says or means, but for the lilt of it—that sets me musing on the days that are no more. There are richer tones in Lamb, tones that remind us of Milton, Thomas Browne, and Jeremy Taylor, but I dare not quote further. Wordsworth was right. He said that 'poetry can boast of no celestial ichor

that distinguishes her vital juices from those of prose, the same human blood circulates through the veins of them both." This is incontrovertible. Lamb like Turgenev or Virginia Woolf, was a poet in prose.

As a critic, he is first-rate, when the subject is congenial to him. Though defrauded in his young years of the sweet food of academic institution, he is yet essentially a scholar, but neither dull nor pedantic. His work is mainly a remembrance of things past, his own feelings, perceptions, moods being alone real to him.

I cannot make these present times, he says candidly, "present to me." As he quaintly puts it, he wrote for antiquity. Here he showed powers of almost critical divination. He is practically the discoverer of old English playwrights. His *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the time of Shakespeare* is a fine and subtle book. It shows exquisite taste, a deep understanding of the Elizabethans, and a power of lighting up the dark corners of the soul with a touch or two. That wild and sombre genius Webster—who has done him better justice than Lamb? Shakespeare, too, is delicately appreciated. In a stray letter in a few sentences we get an astonishingly just estimate of the genius and writings of Defoe. In brief it is with the refinements of creative writing, its verbal nuances, its magic and melody that Lamb is chiefly concerned as a literary critic.

He is also a fine appreciator of art. The ghosts of Titian and Hogarth must bless him. He has distilled the essence of their work. The praise is a little overdone; it is true, but it is not insincere. The fine excesses of Lamb are a part of his charm.

I have always thought that the word great can only be applied to that critic who can evaluate the work of his contemporaries. Here Lamb does not come out too well. The *Waverley Novels* seemed to him not particularly good. Byron he dismissed airily, Shelley according to him was "thin sown with profit or delight." And for the painter Turner he had no praise. These blind spots in Lamb must be admitted. The truth is, where his heart was there his judgment was subtle and true. Where he actively disliked he could be indifferent, insensitive, and even foolish.

Of some aspects of Lamb's work I have no space to speak here. I shall merely say that the *Tales from Shakespeare* which he wrote along with his sister are, almost alone of such things, not unworthy of the original. We know too that he was a master of nonsense—a truly difficult art. His letters are a department of his essays, but all are not of equal value. Quite a number of them are, frankly, dull.

The glory of Lamb lies in his essays. The best of them are unique. There is no mood from that of reckless merriment to that of pathetic sweetness or religious awe, that is not to be found expressed in them with surprising felicity. In fact, all that I have said earlier in praise of Lamb applies mainly to his essays. Here we have the most searching and subtle criticism, situations so sad and so funny that they bring tears and laughter without the help of any stage or curtain. miniature romances wrapped in the incidents of humdrum daily life. The quips and puns of Elia, his bright nuggets of epigram, his delicate English humour, and, above all, his ineffable tenderness and charity make his essays unlike any others, not comparable, not to be held up and measured by any literary rules. Their light and shade, their depth and wit, their sheen and fragrance—these cannot be summed up. They contain the pathos and poetry of the earth, and they are often bathed in the light of dreams. Elia glimpses the world in a stronger and better light than his perishing and mortal eye can see. He is, if you like, a poetic realist.

I pause here to say a word about his style. I know I am on slippery ground, but there is no progress without risk. Experts have told us that Elia's style evades analysis. They say: "One might as well seek to account for the perfume of lavender or the flavour of quince. It is an essence, prepared from flowers and herbs gathered in fields where the ordinary reader does not often range." This is finely put, but it does not take us very far. Words ought not to bamboozle thought.

Compare the style of Lamb in each of his essays, and you will find that every essay has its own rhythm, perfectly attuned to its subject matter. That style, which is well-nigh miraculous, becomes what it is by a process very different from that of most literary artists. Read Pater, George Moore or even Mr. E. M. Forster and you will notice that the aim of these authors has been to forge a style which shall be adaptable to every occasion, but without structural change, the cadence is always the

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same The most exquisite word-painting of Pater or George Moore can be translated rhythm for rhythm into French, Italian, or Urdu without difficulty, once you have mastered the music, you have merely to go on every sentence will be the same But Lamb is so hard to translate because he has no fixed rhythm his prose keeps step with his pulse-beat He differs from sentence to sentence he changes its cadence with every mood or for the convenience of a new fact or a new observation He has, in fine, no theory of beauty in form apart from what it expresses But his form is a living and growing thing the exact objectivation of his thought or feeling

Examine, for instance, the opening words in *The Wedding*

I do not know when I have been better pleased than at being invited last week to be present at the wedding of a friend's daughter I like to make one at these ceremonies, which to us old people give back our youth in a manner and restore our gayest season in the remembrance of our own success or the regrets scarcely less tender, of our own youthful disappointments, in this point of settlement. On these occasions I am sure to be in good humour for a week or two after, and enjoy a reflected honeymoon.

In substance texture and cadence this might have been lifted bodily from the *Spectator* Yet there is no imitation here The topic and the train of thought it evoked happened to be the same that Steele loved to dwell on Then there are essays so fanciful that Donne or Burton might have composed them There are others that have the weight and gravity of Bacon But it is idle to pursue this theme Lamb is a kind of literary chameleon He was always experimenting with himself and others, ever trying to weave his apprehensions into a chime of words

Perhaps he overdid his oddness Unfortunately he had acquired a character for quaintness and had to live up to it But he was fundamentally sincere and wrote from his depths Reading him or commenting on him one is haunted by a single thought It is this the proper study of man is man and though this includes his background we should never forget that it is his

Were there no men
No forest would be lone
Nor any ocean moan,
But trees in unbewildering number stand
And soulless din churn an undefensed strand

The wheel has turned full circle. We come back to the words of Virgil that I heard in part in my boyhood *Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalibus tangunt* That is so, and will always be so

JAPAN'S SURRENDER—WHAT NEXT?

By H VERE REDMAN

JAPAN has surrendered In Japan itself and throughout the occupied territories the armed forces of the Emperor are being disarmed The occupying forces are in all cases settling in, and the instructions of the various Allied commanders to the Japanese authorities are being more or less smoothly carried out Yet reports of these events share a common note of dissatisfaction and reflect a feeling that somehow things are not as they should be, a feeling which was not noticeable at the time of the German surrender

This is probably because the Japanese surrender came before large units of the Japanese forces had been decisively beaten in actual combat and the surrender was made by the existing Government while all the State machinery remains intact, even after the surrender has taken place We feel somehow cheated of our victory It seems somehow improper that a beaten Japan should be, at least as far as her State organization is concerned, so much like the Japan which started the war

This is a very natural sentiment but it is worth consideration in the light of

political as distinct from emotional objectives. When the Potsdam Declaration was issued as a basis for Japanese surrender, did we, in fact, want the Japanese to surrender? If we did, it may be said that we have got what we wanted, and therefore that our feeling of being cheated is hardly justified. To this the answer would probably be that, while we wanted the Japanese to surrender, we wanted that surrender accompanied by an expression on the part of the Japanese leaders of regret for having embarked upon the war. We wanted to be sure that the Japanese fully realized that they had been beaten, and fully realized their national guilt in starting this war at all.

We cannot, as yet, be entirely sure of either. A number of statements have been made by Japanese leaders to the effect that Japan has been defeated. The most important of these was made by Prince Higashi Kuni to the Diet, in which he gave a fairly clear indication that Japan was really beaten, even before the first atom bomb had been dropped. There must then, be some sense of defeat among the Japanese people, and as the soldiers give up their arms and as Allied troops take up their positions in the heart of Japan itself this will undoubtedly grow.

But where is the sense of guilt? That we do not find in any pronouncement. The Imperial rescripts represent the surrender as a mixture of yielding to *force majeure* and Japanese concern with the welfare of mankind as a whole. The pronouncements of Government leaders follow the same lines. The sense of guilt is just not there. The Japanese may be increasingly aware that they have lost the war; they are not as yet, ashamed of ever having started it.

It is useless to expect this to be a natural growth. People do not necessarily feel guilty just because they have been beaten. The Japanese are of all peoples the most prone to such a belief. Throughout their thought there is a tendency to accept that what is successful is right and what is unsuccessful is wrong. But we cannot rely on this entirely. If we wish the Japanese to feel guilty, and it would seem that such a feeling is the only possible basis for their future good behaviour, it is up to us to present clearly what we have against them.

It would obviously have been unwise to begin that process before the disarmament of all the armed Japanese forces was completed. That is a matter of common sense. If we engender in the mind of the Japanese now a conviction that they are a nation of criminals (and particularly that the Service leaders are a band of criminals) the only result would be to encourage spasmodic and desperate resistance to surrender. Presumably, we do not want that. Although dealing with such resistance would rid us of a number of troublesome Japanese, it would also be bound to cost us at least a few Allied lives. We have waged this war to bring about the unconditional surrender of Japan. It is our obvious duty to achieve that surrender at the least possible cost in Allied lives, for Heaven knows, the cost already has been high enough. But the task of this inculcation of a sense of guilt remains to be performed and once the surrender of the armed forces has been completed must be proceeded with vigorously.

A first step has been taken by General MacArthur in the publication of the preliminary list of war criminals. There are clearly two categories of such criminals and in the definitions of the persons who should come within those categories our thought should be clear and proceed according to carefully formulated processes. In this business we do not want to assuage ephemeral passions, do not want to adopt temporary expedients, do not want to make fools of ourselves or martyrs of our enemies. We want to vindicate an acceptable and generally accepted moral law, which will be a firm basis for international relations and the individual actions of national leaders in the years to come. The first category of Japanese war criminals is that of men who have directly perpetrated atrocities on their own responsibility. The Commandant of a prisoner of war camp who has ordered the torture of the prisoners committed to his charge represents a clear case in point. So also do those who have perpetrated atrocities upon civilians in occupied territories. Where evidence of such crimes is fully substantiated the case for stern retribution is unanswerable, and the execution of appropriate sentences can serve, in itself as part of the education of the Japanese people in a sense of guilt. The details of these enormities should be fully publicized for the Japanese people. They should know fully and in the minutest detail the things that have been done by their compatriots, in and out of uniform, and the consequent disgrace which has been brought upon the name of Japan.

But the criminals so far arrested are mostly in another category. It is the category of those who hold supreme responsibility for the outbreak of the war. It is a category in which the principal names are those Service leaders and politicians who have so misled the nation as to cause them to embark upon this attack, to turn away from the paths of peaceful expansion and seize by violence the territories and resources of their neighbours. If the evidence of such activities can be effectively gathered and an indictment formulated which is as clearly logical as it is moral as bereft of hypocrisy as it is based on justice, then the details of that indictment, fully publicized, will supply at the same time the education in guilt which is required and the identification of the guilty in Japanese eyes as well as in our own.

But the making of such an indictment, and indeed the trials of war criminals in this second category, need to be proceeded with deliberately, and to the accompaniment of an educational campaign through all the media of publicity, if they really are to serve any general purpose. How the Japanese will react to such an educative process cannot be predicted with certainty. They will undoubtedly, like all mankind in times of disaster, be glad of scapegoats. If we play our cards well—that is to say if our trials appear to be serving an objective justice and our accompanying publicity is convincingly conducted—the scapegoats will be the warrior caste in general and with it, the warrior code will be discredited. The value of this campaign it should be stressed, will lie less in either the satisfactions it gives to our own sense of justice or in the number of potentially troublesome Japanese it disposes of than in the general effect it has on the Japanese as a whole. It should serve to make them anti-militarist. That is the essential purpose.

There has been some slight evidence of such anti-militarism already. The speeches of Minoru Togo, Ichiro Hatoyama and the aged Yukio Ozaki in the Diet are cases in point. But it is doubtful whether any of these, except the last, represent anything more than a surface reaction to failure and a fashion. The Japanese are given to following fashions and particularly the fashions associated with success. The contemporary bleatings by agile politicians about the virtues of democracy within a few months of equation of it to decadence, are little more than manifestations of this. But there are more permanent factors in the Japanese make-up which transcend fashion and the apotheosis of the warrior is one of them. So too is the herd spirit in all its manifestations its negation of the importance of the individual its sanctification of the group.

And it is these things in the character of the Japanese that we have got to get rid of if we want to get them to behave in the way we would have them behave. We have to break down the conviction that violence in the service of the group is the ultimate manifestation of virility that physical courage in the service of unreasoned herd purposes is an ultimate good. We have to redefine courage as something more than physical valour and self-sacrifice for an ill-apprehended end. We have to redefine justice as vindication of universal and objective law.

These are alien conceptions to the Japanese. To inculcate them is no short or easy task. And in the process we must always beware of the ready-mouthered people who will repeat our lessons while not really incorporating them into their own thinking. It will not take us long to have thousands of Japanese piping democratic platitudes through their gum-encrusted teeth. But we want more than that if East Asia is to live at peace and we must be prepared to work for it.

MODERN BARODA

By R. W. Brock

THE recent visit of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda to Britain, which has awakened such a lively interest in his personality and activities in certain sections of the British Press, affords additional justification for directing attention once again

to Baroda's many-sided progress in every sphere of social economic and political activity advantageous to its own population and the welfare and advancement of the State as a whole. As described in the administration report for 1943-44 now available, the capital city embodies Eastern traditions and Western ideals in an exceptionally attractive synthesis—a city of palaces and stately public buildings, of parks and recreation grounds of broad, well laid roads and beautiful avenues of colleges, schools and hospitals, a city worthy to be the seat of a modern and progressive State—far more worthy, one may add, than many a provincial capital city in British India. As the Baroda report recalls, the sixty four years during which that remarkable man, the grandfather of the present Maharaja was on the throne was the golden period in the history of the State. His achievements were numerous: a scientific system of land revenue, survey and settlement was introduced, great departments of State formed, social laws framed and enacted, compulsory education enforced, important programmes of rural reconstruction and industrial development carried out, the social services of the State extended, a network of railways constructed, the port of Okha developed, and above all a tradition of just and good government firmly established. His Highness was assisted by a succession of able Ministers, but the inspiration was always his. Modern Baroda is the great and fitting memorial to Sayajirao.

In February, 1939 he was succeeded by his grandson His Highness the Maharaja Pratapsinh Gaskwar, whose reign, as the Administration Report asserts, is already famous for the permanent reduction in land revenue to the extent over twenty per cent., the Constitutional reforms and the Sayajirao III Memorial Trust of a crore of rupees, the Maharani Shanta Devi Trust fund for the medical relief of women and children, and the extension of the social services of the State. Constitutional advance keeps pace with social and economic progress. The Legislative Council reconstituted in 1940 now consists of sixty members of whom twenty-seven are elected by territorial constituencies on a wide franchise, in 1940 the number of voters being 239,336 or about 8.5 per cent of the population of the State. Besides these ten members represent industry, commerce, labour and the co-operative movement as special interests. The other twenty-three members consist of six officials and seventeen non-official gentlemen appointed to represent minorities, etc. The Council over which the Dewan presides, has the power to initiate and pass legislation, to discuss and vote on the Budget. The members may also ask questions and move resolutions on matters of public interest, subject to certain limitations. All legislation requires the assent of the Maharaja, while the Dewan has the power of certification. The judiciary is separate from, and independent of, the Legislature and the Executive. The judges of the High Court hold office till the age of retirement, and may only be removed by His Highness on the ground of misbehaviour or infirmity of body or mind. The policy of His Highness has been set out clearly—it is the close association of the people with the Government. In Constitutional matters, as in other spheres, Baroda has developed forms and institutions which, it is reasonably claimed, while giving full effect to the principle of close association, are suited to her conditions and serve her special needs.

The Agricultural Department, founded in 1909, was largely expanded in 1936, when it adopted a vigorous policy of technical development, and an equally vigorous propaganda to carry the knowledge of improved methods to every agriculturist in the State. The number of co-operative societies is now 1,359, and it is calculated that 18.1 per cent of the population is affected by the movement. The department of industries is maintained to implement the Government's policy of active assistance in starting new or developing existing industries, including village industries. Education is free and compulsory between the ages of seven and twelve, and all primary education up to class V is free. There are 2,496 Government primary schools with 6,746 teachers and 50 Government secondary schools with 477 teachers. Of 311,726 pupils in 1943-44, 191,005 were boys and 120,721 girls. The percentage of those under instruction to the total population was 21.6.

Perhaps the most important development in education in recent years is the establishment of a network of village libraries throughout the State. The genesis of the library movement lies in the fact, realized after some years of experience of compulsory education, that a boy or girl who has passed the fifth standard Gujarati lapses into illiteracy within a few years unless opportunities are provided for him or her.

to continue reading. The Government therefore adopted a policy of providing with a library every village where there is a school. In 1944 there were 1,505 village libraries, reinforced by travelling libraries serving about 375 centres. The population served by the libraries now forms 100 per cent. of the town population, and 78.27 of the village, equivalent to 82.6 per cent. of the population of the State as a whole.

The area of the State is 8,176 square miles the population 2,855,000 an average density of 349 to the square mile. The distribution of the population between urban and rural is in the ratio of 1 to 4. The rural population lives in 2,894 villages, of which 1,401 have a population of less than 500. There is a marked tendency to migrate from small congested villages to the towns, whose number increased from 50 in 1931 to 64 in 1941. Government note that many of these towns are mere distributing centres, and the increase in the number does not signify corresponding industrial progress. Indeed the predominance of agriculture as a means of livelihood has as yet been little affected and 64.6 per cent. are engaged in it, industry absorbing 23.3 per cent. The strength of the rural society lies in the large number of proprietor farmers. A further factor is the number of women who supplement the family income 744 to every 1,000, as against 567 in British Gujarat and 428 in Bombay Province. On the other hand the average holding is only four acres and the area of crop per head of population 1.35 acres and this problem is accentuated by fragmentation and sub-division. Government confess sadly that the measures taken to prevent further sub-division and to consolidate small holdings have been defeated by sentiment, laws of inheritance and succession and the absence of diversified occupations. A second handicap is that the irrigated area constitutes only 6 per cent. of the area of the State. The excessive number of cattle is another disadvantage 46 to every 100 acres, or double what Government think it should be. Agricultural indebtedness as in the rest of India is heavy and Government is pledged to develop co-operative credit to meet this evil. Large irrigation schemes are under investigation and on perennial rivers electric installations for pumping water are set up.

Industrially Baroda is relatively advanced factory operatives numbering 36,523 while the total amount of paid up capital of joint stock companies working in the State (excluding foreign insurance companies) increased from Rs. 152 lakhs in 1921 to Rs. 2,014 lakhs in 1941. A noteworthy feature of this industrial development is that it is broadbased. There are 18 cotton mills, 1 woollen mill 2 cotton and silk weaving factories a large chemical industry a cement factory producing 200,000 tons a year and a salt works with an output of 75,000 tons. There are two match factories, a sugar factory oil mills and a number of miscellaneous concerns.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL PROGRESS IN INDIAN STATES

(FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

THE decision to reopen Constitutional discussions in India following the completion of the Provincial elections early next year means that the establishment of an Indian Federal Union, broadly on the lines contemplated in the India Act of 1935 although of course by no means assured is undoubtedly restored to the arena of practical politics and after a decade of debate and indecision, again becomes a live issue. Meanwhile, as we are reminded in an authoritative analysis Constitutional history in the States has not stood still. Of the total population of the States which are members of the Chamber of Princes 76.4 per cent. possess Legislatures with varying degrees of power and influence, and in about twenty States the existing Constitutions are in process of revision. When these measures are completed about 85 per cent. of the total population of Chamber States will have popular representative bodies. Some of the larger States have bicameral legislatures, both Houses having a majority of elected members. Thus, in Mysore, the Legislative Council which is the Upper House, has

68 members, of whom 44 are elected. The Representative Assembly, the Lower House, consists of 310 members, of whom only 12 are nominated. In States possessing unicameral Legislatures the elected members are in a clear majority over the nominated and official members. A notable feature is the almost complete absence of communal electorates, special representation being extended however, to backward classes and minorities, as well as to trades, professions and other functional interests. In Hyderabad and Rampur territorial constituencies have been ruled out, and, instead, occupational constituencies based on the economic motif have been substituted. Some of the States, including Mysore, Kashmir and Baroda, include in their Executive Councils one or two Ministers selected from the elected members of the Legislatures. The Baroda Constitution specifically provides for the appointment of two such Ministers, while Mysore has three elected Ministers on the Executive Council. The Constitution of Cochin provides for the appointment of a Minister from among the elected members, who is responsible to the Legislature and retains office so long as he commands its confidence. Important departments such as Education, Agriculture, Public Health and Local Self-Government are under his direct charge and are known as the Transferred Departments (shades of Dyarchy!) to distinguish them from the Reserved Departments supervised by officials not responsible to the Legislature.

Political ideals know no frontiers and it is a safe assumption, regardless of the federal project, that, as British India moves progressively towards the establishment of full Parliamentary government, the States will move at varying paces, and with varying degrees of reluctance, towards the same consummation. Among a population in which political consciousness and experience vary so greatly as in India, there is no inherent disadvantage in this lack of uniformity and, as pointed out by H H the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes in his inaugural address to the Constitutional Committee in Bombay on July 11 last, it is now the settled policy of the Indian Princes to associate their people as closely as possible with the administration of the States and to make their fullest contribution towards the greatness and glory of the motherland.

Nor is popular welfare measurable by political standards alone. On the home-front, declared the President of the Hyderabad Executive Council in a recent address to the Legislative Council, we have now to approximate as closely and as early as possible to the ideal of a social service State, catering for all the essential social needs of a progressive people. In post-war planning primary importance has been attached to industrial, commercial and agricultural development, to the expansion of public health and medical relief and to the spread of education and literacy. Nor is the Premier State prone to political isolationism. In the difficult war years, as the Nawab-Saheb observed, "The interdependence of British India and the State has helped the process of collaboration in the economic sphere, and the question of food supply is an instance—a problem not yet finally solved. It is not expected," he added, "that the situation in this, as in other economic fields, will ease suddenly after the war to such an extent as to permit an immediate withdrawal of controls and regulations. We appear, however, to have passed the worst days, and given the continued co-operation of the public in the drive against the hoarder and the smuggler, the anti-social nature of whose activities must be given no quarter given also the continued impetus of the Grow More Food campaign, on which Government has so far spent one crore and seventeen lakhs of rupees, above all, given sufficient rain at the proper time, God's greatest gift of all, we can hope to have better years before us than we have left behind."

There has been a phenomenal rise in the income of the Hyderabad Government during the war period from 9 to 17 crores of rupees and large sums have been allotted for nation-building activities such as the expansion of technical and general education in all stages, improvement in public health and medical facilities and the building up of large reserves for post-war requirements. Of special significance is the decision of the Nizam's Government to make co-operation the basis of the entire rural economy of the State. The Co-operative Department has prepared a scheme, pyramidal in structure which aims at establishing co-operative societies, Taluqa Development Unions and District Development Unions in every village, taluqa and district respectively. Great stress is laid on co-operative business and the elimination of the middle-

men's profit by combining the interests of the producer and the consumer in the Taluqa Development Unions. The scheme envisages the inclusion of the Sahukars and the business community also in the fold of co-operation. It is frankly recognized that during its thirty years' existence the progress of the co-operative movement in the State has fallen below expectations. The present global war, it is officially affirmed, "has come as a blessing in disguise for the movement. It has driven home the evil effects of the capitalistic system of production and distribution. A reorientation of the movement is therefore called for, and perhaps the most efficacious instrument to bring it about is the organization of agricultural production. This is exactly what is contemplated by the new scheme prepared for widening the basis of the co-operative movement in the State.

In the Mysore Administration Report which carries the story of events to June 30, 1944, it is recorded that a noticeable feature of the year was a definite improvement in the condition of the agriculturists who were able to obtain better prices for their produce. Food production and distribution problems were handled with vigour and success, and the Department of Agriculture continued its useful work in regard to the popularization of new varieties of cotton, sugar cane and paddy. The improvement in the general industrial and commercial conditions of the people continued, and the international situation afforded a further impetus to the development of the major, minor and cottage industries. The demand for locally manufactured goods exceeding the productive capacity of many of the concerns. Mysore now has one school for every 3.26 sq. miles and 793 persons, so that with a population of about 7½ millions, one out of every two children of school-going age is under instruction.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

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